

# THE MONTH



Per menses singulos reddens fructum suum,  
et folia ligni ad sanitatem gentium.  
(*Apo. xii. 2.*)

VOL. CLXX  
JULY—DECEMBER  
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THE MONTH

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# THE MONTH

VOL. CLXX

JULY, 1937

No. 877

## EDITORIAL COMMENTS

### **The Clear Issue in Spain**

OUT of the fog of the Spanish War, rendered doubly thick by the constant propaganda in favour of the Reds which is sedulously spread by the bulk of the English Press, are gradually emerging the facts that the Nationalists are certain to win and that no kind of compromise with their adversaries is thinkable which could restore Spain to peace and prosperity. Catholics have seen from the first that the struggle is ultimately but one phase of the organized rising of Antichrist against Christ which marks these latter days, and that only by the restoration of a really Christian regime can that struggle be ended—for the time. No permanent peace is possible. For Antichrist—the rebel spirit of the world that is “wholly set in evil”—can never be overcome save by conversion to the truth, and will make itself manifest in nation, group or individual to the end. But there is still enough Christianity left in the world to repress that spirit and keep it under control, wherever Christian principles have not atrophied through neglect or been effectively undermined by “free-thought.” And there is enough Catholicism left in Spain on which to base the hope of a great and widespread revival of religion, inspired by the fearful experience of what may befall any society which turns its back on God.

### **Champions of Truth**

WE have reason to be grateful to our Catholic Press, both here and in America, for its insistent and successful labours to free the issues in Spain from the clouds of misrepresentation in which the anti-Catholic and “liberal” papers everywhere have sought to involve them. And Catholic publicists too, like Messrs. Belloc, Lunn and Jerrold, and various Editors in the States, have put us in their debt by their writing and speeches in exposition of the true position in the Peninsula. No Catholic need any longer be in doubt,

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through want of authentic information, about the desperate crisis through which religion in that land is passing, for anti-Red literature on the subject has become both cheap and plentiful. The scandal caused by a section of the Basques who seemed to have bartered the cause of God for their temporal ambitions, has been shown not to be so widespread as was at first feared. The character of the children from the Bilbao district has made clear that the predominant Catholicity of the Red supporters there is largely a myth, whilst the readiness with which the inhabitants of the conquered regions settle down under the Nationalists indicates the factitious character of the resistance. Little credence can now be attached to the wholesale charges, laid by the Red Basque authorities against the Nationalists, of designedly machine-gunning civilians from the air, for later investigations have invariably shown them to be either unfounded or grossly exaggerated. In any case, it would not be in General Franco's interest to do more damage than he can help, either to things or persons in the Spain he means to restore to prosperity. It is the "internationalists," men without country or tradition, that do not scruple to destroy what they cannot protect. Their policy has been declared by Señor Caballero in an instruction quoted in *The Tablet* (May 29th, p. 768) to the Reds who plundered the banks in San Sebastian—"before surrendering a town you must empty or destroy it."

### Repatriate the Bilbao Children

**A**LREADY it is plain that the sending abroad of the Bilbao children was a costly and mistaken political move. Apart from the fact that safe provision could have been found for them at home, their conduct here and in France has somewhat disillusioned those disposed to sympathize with them as victims. The majority of them in England, so far from being Catholic, seem to be, as far as their years allow, militant communists, as undisciplined and ungrateful as such upbringing might suggest. Some of these may benefit by their contact with civilization, but now that the Nationalists have taken Bilbao and the unnatural Catholic-Communist combination of their adversaries has been dissolved, there seems no further reason to delay the repatriation of these helpless and unwilling exiles. The influence of their own kindred, Basques like themselves, but now, let us hope, converted from an unChristian nationalism, is needed to

turn them into really patriotic Spaniards. We suspect that the province of Asturias, the mining population of which attempted a Soviet revolt, with the approbation of our British "liberals," as long ago as December, 1934, and wrought vile anti-religious atrocities, has proved a harmful neighbour to Viscaya. An encyclopædia describes them as, owing to their isolation, "the purest representatives of the Spanish race," but poverty, degrading work, religious neglect and, not least, Soviet tutelage, seem to have turned them into veritable savages, who, rather than submit to the Republican Government of the time, destroyed their capital, Oviedo, after looting its banks and burning the priceless University library. It is the presence of these fierce and fanatical men amongst the Separatist Basques which delayed the capture of Bilbao, and, true to their character, they had to be driven out by their former allies before the city surrendered.

### The "Deutschland" and Reprisals

IT was probably the report that German war-planes were amongst those which are said to have bombed Guernica that prompted the attack by Red planes on the German battleship "Deutschland," anchored in the roads of Iviza—an incredibly foolish and impotent gesture if only because sure to provoke stern retribution—which actually occurred in the shelling of Almeria. It was the worst, if not the last, of a series of similar blunders, which argue that the Valencia Government has lost all hope. And it raises one of the most serious ethical questions created by modern warfare, which is precisely this—what limits does the moral law set to the use of reprisals? The answer, already given by the Great Powers is—none, for all have avowed their purpose to defend themselves from attack by air by getting their blow in first or, if they cannot, by retaliating as strongly and speedily as possible. It is useless, therefore, so long as this is the known purpose of our Air Force, to protest against the German reaction to the bombing of the "Deutschland," supposing that to have been an unprovoked act of war against a ship engaged in its lawful occasions, and we don't know of any nation, which in the circumstances would have refrained from immediately hitting back. The evidence for the later torpedo attack by the Reds on a German cruiser is not convincing, but the result has been to divide the four "controlling Powers," more markedly, into two camps.

### Who are Non-Combatants?

**G**ERMANY, at least, had no scruples in retaliating. In the late War she had often torpedoed at sight enemy merchant ships, without regard to the possibility of their carrying neutrals, and certainly her standard of international ethics has not since risen appreciably. Nor, indeed, has that of the world at large, for morality in warfare follows the practice of the least scrupulous. It would seem now impossible to re-establish the old distinction, which Christianity laboured so long to create, between the fighting forces, those, *i.e.*, actually bearing arms against the enemy, and the rest of the hostile nation, whether capable of fighting or not. Whilst awaiting the Church's more explicit guidance, it remains a matter for the individual conscience to decide whether one can join in a war carried on by indiscriminate bombing, which all agree will be the main feature of the next international outbreak. The Powers are seeking to train their citizens in the use of gas-masks, not merely in fortified towns but everywhere, and what each expects from the others, it is prepared to do itself. In the circumstances, the protests made by well-meaning humanitarians against the use of the aeroplane in the Spanish conflict imply a singular ignorance of the modern war-mentality, from which every consideration except the will to conquer would seem to have been banished.

### The Terror in Russia

**W**E have to go far back in history to find anything parallel in kind or in scale to the successive massacres of men whom he has ceased to trust, recently perpetrated with a mockery of legality by the present Autocrat of all the Russias. The "Berlin blood-bath" of June 30, 1934, which claimed over a hundred victims shot without pretence of trial, many of them innocent, was a small thing in its way although sprung from the same evil root, when compared with the long-drawn-out "liquidation" of so-called traitors which the Soviet despotism has achieved within the last twelve months. Sixteen "leaders of the revolution" were shot in August last year after the first of the "Trotsky" treason-trials, and thirteen more, equally eminent, met the same fate last January. Now last month came the turn of the Army, and eight of the highest Generals faced the firing-squad on June 13th, whilst others "disappeared" or committed suicide. The previous

executions of the Zinovieff-Kamenof and Radek-Pyatakoff groups were of the normal revolutionary type, whereby newcomers rise on stepping-stones of their dead comrades to higher things, but to lay hands on the Army, on whose willing obedience the tyrant must rely, shows that this particular ruler can no longer trust his own instrument. No one believes the charges which brought these men to death, even though they all *more Sovietico* obligingly pleaded guilty. But, if there was any truth in them, the higher command of the Russian Army must still be full of disaffection towards the regime. The massacre of the Generals was a revelation of fear.

### The Pope Speaks Out

NOW that the Holy Father, after waiting long for some sign of a return to common sense and common faith and common decency on the part of the unholy trinity who at present rule the destinies of sixty million Germans (including twenty million of his own spiritual flock), has described with admirable clearness and vigour the absurdly false national ideals which are being enforced by every form of tyrannical pressure upon that hapless nation, it would ill-beseem any of his children to pass over without open approval that terrible indictment. It sums up what all real Christians must have felt, and what many said, when first that portentous philosophy saw the light in "Mein Kampf," and what all should unite in re-echoing, till it finds a dishonoured grave among the rankest follies of mankind. That philosophy denies in the first place the universality of the Christian revelation to mankind, claiming for the German race a superior, or at least a separate, sort of salvation founded on "blood and soil." Hence any religion which is not "German" in origin and sentiment must, as Father Murray pointed out in our May issue, be suppressed in the interests of German national development. It is plain that this sub-pagan theory repudiates the supernatural altogether and is a constructive rejection of the Christian ideal. Its one aim is to free State-action from any guidance save its own temporal interest. The Pope stigmatizes this blasphemous project in words the truth of which must appeal to every mind not blinded by national or racial pride—

Whoever takes race or people, or any particular form



of State, or the bearers of State-power or any other fundamental elements of human community—however necessary and honourable be their function in the temporal order—out of the system of their mundane worth and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even religious, values, deifying them with an idolatrous worship, perverts and falsifies the order of things created and commanded by God. . . Only superficial minds are capable of the heresy of speaking of a national religion, of a national God, only such can make the mad attempt of trying to confine within the frontiers of a single people, within the narrow blood-stream of a single race, God the Creator of the Universe, King and Lawgiver of all nations before whose greatness they are "as a drop in a bucket."

Yet at this late date in human history these very superficial minds, a few not very intellectual or highly-educated men, have set themselves to reverse the whole tradition of Christianity and to proclaim mistaken all the saints and sages and doctors, Germans and others, who are among the glories of the human race. Their arrogance vies with their ignorance, and both are truly colossal.

#### **False National Ideals**

**B**UT these ignorant men have managed to enlist on their side all the overwhelming national instincts of a proud race, brought by the mistakes of their leaders into the depths of humiliation and defeat, and treated through the folly of their conquerors with despise and injustice. Germany, intelligently dealt with, might have developed into a steady-going peaceful democracy: Hitlerism is in direct descent from the Versailles Treaty and its blundering application. It offered a degraded and helpless people the chance and the means of complete national reassertion, and with that hope in prospect they would gladly have followed even more equivocal leadership. These men have freed Germany from outside tutelage, and a grateful nation, considering that fact and the fact of a vast deal of material improvement, is not yet disposed to estimate the cost of that emancipation as the world sees it—the complete loss of political liberty and the complete denial of liberty of conscience. The State, as the Pope implies, has taken the place of God and the Führer is its



Prophet. The German Catholics, at any rate, one-third of the nation, cannot without denying their Faith pay homage to a sorry deity of this kind, one who inaugurated its rule by a monstrous act of injustice towards its Jewish subjects and now threatens to exterminate its Catholic. We have no fears for the Church in Germany. Already the Nazi persecution has had the usual result of inflaming the devotion of the faithful, and although the cruel choice between the open practice of the Faith and the prospects of worldly advancement may cause many to falter, all history goes to show that such storms are God's providential means of reinvigorating His Church.

### **The Massacre of the Innocents**

**M**EANWHILE, the methods of the new Kulturkampf are such as to mark its authors with indelible dishonour. They are aiming at destroying the influence of the clergy by gross and widespread calumnies against their moral character, and they are trying to abolish Catholic education. The Pope stigmatizes the first of these infamous processes, which, indeed, the German hierarchy, by a statement read in all Catholic churches on June 6th, have already exposed as almost wholly mendacious, and as for the second, which is even more directly anti-Christian, and for which the authorities, on the strength of an extorted vote, claim to have the sanction of Catholic parents, Cardinal Faulhaber, on June 13th, denounced the so-called "voluntary-school elections" in Bavaria as emphatically not voluntary, and protested against this further direct violation of the Concordat. The Nazis claim that the child belongs first and foremost to the State, and Herr Hitler, in his reply to the Pope's Encyclical, has not been ashamed to tell German Catholics—"We will take away your children." Herod's crime, in "taking away" the children of Bethlehem, was more spectacular but hardly a greater outrage against parental rights. Herod destroyed the bodies of his victims but Herr Hitler, if he has his way, will corrupt and pervert the souls of his. Nothing in the practice of the Absolute State is more abominable than its taking advantage of the helplessness of youth to imbue it with false doctrine and merely secular morality. Catholic parents in Germany may at present be powerless to prevent this perversion. With the practical abolition of the Catholic Press, with the closing of Catholic kindergartens and schools, with

all the means of propaganda in the hands of anti-Catholics, with every variety of Catholic association, charitable and religious, proscribed and dissolved, with the avenues to social, political and professional advancement closed to all but State-idolaters, with numberless forms of vocal public opinion engaged in decrying Christianity, how starved and stunted must necessarily be the impressionable souls of the children exposed to such influences. A generation will grow up, as in Russia, deprived of religion, depraved in morals, finding only such spiritual nourishment as they need in false ideals of earthly gain and glory. It is said that 95 per cent of those prominent in the German Government have abandoned all "confessional" connexions, and the Führer himself has openly called Christianity "a man-made system which man can unmake." Can the Church and the Family, under their present handicaps, counteract all this?

#### Condemnation by Christians abroad

GERMAN Catholics at home are silenced. Only the Bishops and the clergy maintain in their churches an unreported protest against the Kulturkampf. But Catholic Germans abroad need not hold their peace and we are glad that Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago has clearly voiced their abhorrence of Nazi proceedings in the Fatherland, and by a calculated freedom of expression secured for his utterance a world-wide repercussion which it would not otherwise have received. The Catholic German *diaspora* has the good name of its country, as well as the interests of its Faith, at heart and has a right to proclaim its repudiation of the fantastic tricks played before high heaven by Germany's present rulers. Nor must we ignore the disgust and resentment expressed by other Christians in the States. Dr. Charles MacFarland, ex-Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, who, in 1933, studied the religious position in Germany with the assistance of Herr Hitler, now charges the Chancellor with having "violated every assurance that you made me . . . and, by consenting and approving, permitted the desecration of the ideals of honour, integrity, truth and humanity associated with the Germany of my student-days." One significant result of Nazi anti-Christianity in Germany itself has been a distinct *rapprochement* between Catholics, and genuine believers in the divinity of Christianity amongst

the Protestant denominations. Germany needs the active help of all her children to restore her material prosperity, to overcome the solvent of Communism, and to regain the good will of a mistrustful world—and this is the time her rulers choose to try to shatter their most potent weapon, the faith and hope and charity which Christianity inspires!

### Catholicism and Fascism

IT has often been said, and with considerable truth, that Bolshevism, Nazi-ism and Fascism all spring from the same irreligious root. In so far as they do not recognize "the supremacy of the spiritual" and subordinate the supernatural interests of their subjects to merely temporal objects, they are clearly thus akin. Bolshevism denies God altogether, and all the range of duties and beliefs connected with His existence. The Nazis, though making free play with the terms—God, religion, morality—misuse them, in the words of the Pope, "as meaningless labels for a more or less capricious form of human search and longing," not as expressing the definite Christian beliefs. Finally, the Absolute State in Italy, because the country is Catholic, has the sense to recognize the rights of the Christian Church in her own sphere, and to maintain with her a practical, if not a perfect, *modus vivendi*. But the difference depends more on the accident of Italy's Catholicity than upon the formulas of Fascism itself, which regard the State, not as the creation of the citizens but as something above and beyond them, dictating what is supposed to be for their good. It is born of the conviction that the citizenry taken as a whole have not the intelligence or the education or the moral principle necessary to rule themselves wisely and efficiently. Not without reason has it been said that Plato, who despised the herd and entrusted State-government to highly-educated and select "guardians," was the first Fascist. The Church, on the other hand, whilst pronouncing no form of government as particularly Christian, favours that most which gives fullest expression to the natural right of man to various forms of liberty, and it would be rash for Catholics, in face of the modern examples of the Totalitarian State, to adhere to that system without very many reserves. The question is being much discussed at present in the Catholic Press, but until principles are agreed upon, the discussion will be fruitless. Some people look upon Italy under Fascism

as an earthly Paradise: others think that, if so, it has more than its share of snakes. Few uphold Nazi-ism now that its radical anti-Christianity has become so manifest, but they find much to praise on the grounds of efficiency. Others, again, disgusted by the welter of our Parliamentary system, full of subterfuge and compromise and financial trickery, are willing to get rid of it by submitting to a despot, more or less beneficent. But no thinking Catholic should be willing to entrust to any State-system the power to interfere, unchecked and unresisted, with the primary rights of man.

### Support the Catholic Press

THE reflection that these mild essays in criticism could not be published with impunity in any of the three countries mentioned may serve to remind us of the rights which we still enjoy under our democratic system and which we should be careful not to jeopardize. The various Catholic Press-Weeks, which have been held or are still to be held, in the several English dioceses during the year, to stimulate the creation and spread of Catholic literature, would be out of place in a Totalitarian State. For it is part of the presentation of Catholic Truth, which our Press exists to proclaim and disseminate, to advocate the exercise of all natural rights, to define the limits of lawful State interference with those rights, to uphold the rights of the Church, of conscience, and indeed of Almighty God Himself, in a world too apt to ignore or deny Him. Such activity would be speedily suppressed by a Government which professes to be omniscient and above free criticism. So we ought to make the most of our liberty, and perfect as much as possible the various vehicles of its expression. We have often stressed the main and permanent superiority of Catholic papers over the best of their secular rivals, viz., that they do possess and can expound the truth about things which matter most. There is not one of them but, habitually or from time to time, reminds the Catholic of the details of his Faith, either in formal expositions or in "answers to correspondents,"<sup>1</sup> and the obligation which lies on all of us to trade with the Talent entrusted to us should prompt us to support this effective means of doing so.

<sup>1</sup> We may be permitted, if only through personal gratitude, to call attention to those which appear in *The Catholic Gazette*, wherein month by month Dr. Arendzen, with profound knowledge and great clearness, answers all sorts of religious difficulties.

## CATHOLIC ALSACE AND M. BLUM

**I**N January of last year there appeared a Note in **THE MONTH** on the Alsace Question attempting to show "how ill-assorted are the claims of the modern 'secular' States with the religious rights of its citizens." Since that time events have happened thick and fast which reveal on the one hand the anti-religious activity of lay France, and on the other, the success which can await united Catholic Action. This latest phase in the Alsace difficulty might truly be called Communism *versus* Catholicism, and for once the latter has successively won each round of the struggle. So far.

In May, 1935, the Popular Front of Socialist, Radical, Republican, Independent Socialist and Communist parties was formed. It drew up a programme, and upon it fought the elections of May, 1936. The Socialists increased their number of seats from 97 to 146. The Communists were even more successful; the number of their deputies in the Chamber rose from 10 to 72. Their victory was the reward of an intensely energetic campaign throughout the whole of France. In Alsace-Lorraine they were able to put up a candidate in every one of the thirty-nine constituencies. But the Catholics routed both Communists and Socialists. The result was remarkable: Catholics 37 seats, Communists 1, Socialists 0. Catholic Alsace-Lorraine had not gone the same way as the rest of France. However, the Popular Front's general victory presaged difficult days for the recovered provinces. The attack came as usual in the sphere of education. It must be remembered that Alsace-Lorraine still enjoys the charter of its religious freedom given by the Concordat of 1803, and in educational matters is still governed by the statute of the Falloux Law of 1850 by which the public primary schools are recognized as religious schools, Catholic, Protestant or Jewish as the case may be; religious instruction is part of the curriculum and is given by the teacher under the general inspection of their respective ministers of religion. This system was recognized by Germany during its half-century of rule there, during which time the Government in France had been becoming more and more anti-clerical and had laicized the schools. In 1918, policy perhaps more than justice bade the

French promise the Alsatians recognition of their traditional scholastic status, which promise did not prevent M. Herriot and others trying to "assimilate" the Alsatian schools with the French Lay system. To-day, when Communists have so increased in strength, renewed attacks have been launched upon the Falloux Law.

The recent trouble began in August of last year at the Lille Congress of the National Syndicate of French Schoolmasters. The members of the Congress spent some time discussing Alsace-Lorraine. The results were thus summarized in *The Tablet* on November 7, 1936 :

"The National Syndicate of French Schoolmasters at their Lille Congress, voted the following resolutions :

(1) That every pupil should be dispensed from religious instruction, if so requested by the head of the household, the request being addressed to the Headmaster ;

(2) That every teacher be dispensed from teaching religion at his own request addressed to the inspector ;

(3) That candidates for the Training Schools be given the option between an examination on religion and one on civic morality, if they so desire ;

(4) That a course on morality be given in schools for such pupils as do not wish to follow a course on religion.

"The Congress further entered its protests against the following :

(1) That the laicizing of education should have been delayed for ten years in Alsace-Lorraine ;

(2) That members of religious orders should be allowed to teach to the age of eighty, when so many young teachers, with better qualifications, remain unemployed ;

(3) That four hours a week devoted to religious instruction should be included in the teaching programme ;

(4) That teaching orders are still active in defiance of the law ;

(5) That teachers whose anti-laic bias is well known, should be kept in the public service ; and that candidates coming from the free schools should be accepted into the teaching service.

"The Congress further recommended that all civil servants should send their children to Government schools ; that guarantees of 'laicizing dispositions' should be required from every candidate to the teaching profession ; that the laws against free or confessional schools should be at once enforced



in France and in the colonies; and that the Popular Front take action for the rapid laicization of education."

This was obviously a declaration of war to the knife against Catholic rights in education.

In the people of Alsace-Lorraine these resolutions roused the fiercest opposition. The two provinces organized meetings of protest culminating in a mass-meeting on September 13th at Strasbourg of more than 60,000 Catholics, who replied to the Communist-infected National Syndicate:

Intensely moved by the prospect of seeing their country drift towards Bolshevism, the Catholics of Alsace undertake to defend liberty, order and internal peace. They will defend resolutely and, if public powers are denied them, by their own private initiative, the sacred heritage of their Catholic Faith, which they consider as one of the essential factors of all progress.

This determined stand against their policy stirred the French Communists to immediate action. They decided to defeat or intimidate their obdurate opponents. For October 11th some 150 meetings were announced to be held in the three Departments of Alsace and all the seventy-two Communist deputies were to take part. These proposals provoked more active opposition and the authorities were warned that if this "invasion" were allowed violent scenes would certainly ensue. As a result, the Communist meetings were reduced finally to ten, held without any demonstrative trappings and under the protection of a force of police. Thus the "invasion" was a ridiculous fiasco. Of course, the Communist newspapers tried to give the impression that it had been a success. *L'Humanité* declared that 18,000 people had attended the meeting at Strasbourg. In point of fact, according to the official figures given by the Minister of the Interior, the total number of all the people present at all the meetings fell far short of that figure.

Meantime, however, the Popular Front Government had been preparing a more serious attack upon the religion of Alsace. On August 9th, the Chamber passed a law raising the school-leaving age in France to fourteen years. This had been the practice in Alsace for many years, and so caused no alarm. But then in October, the Popular Front, interpreting the new law, decided to prolong the school age to fifteen for

boys in Alsace. On October 10th, M. Blum proposed for the signature of the President of the Republic a decree to such an effect. "This prolongation," ran the decree, "which will keep girls at school until fourteen and boys until fifteen, will constitute a most important advance, by securing a deeper knowledge of the school programme and especially of the national language. The continuation courses for the young and the courses for adults will be greatly facilitated. These are the considerations, pedagogical, social, and national which have inspired the plans which we have the honour to submit to you." The Minister of Education reckoned that the reform would cost the State 504 million francs. This was for the State schools alone; it omitted the confessional schools which, even more badly treated than Catholic schools in England, do not receive any grant at all. The Catholics have already to find 800 million francs a year to maintain their schools, and would have to find several more hundred million in view of this new law. Such a heavy contribution would fall disproportionately upon the Alsatians. Hence they could not afford this extra year. Moreover, they suspected the sincerity of the considerations alleged by M. Blum. Their suspicions were increased when, towards the end of December, the National Congress of the "Lay Front" (a front of the anti-religious forces within the Popular Front) passed resolutions almost identical with those of the Teachers' Congress. And in January of this year those suspicions were justified: the anti-religious manoeuvre was revealed. In the Chamber M. Blum answered the protests of the deputies of Alsace. Religious instruction and the learning of German (necessary to all Alsatians) were to be bartered. The Prime Minister declared that either the decree was to be enforced and the school-leaving age raised to fifteen in Alsace, or the school-leaving age remain at fourteen but the curriculum become as in the rest of France; in other words, the suppression of religious instruction and of German! Thus, once again, as under Herriot in 1924, the religious liberties of Alsace-Lorraine were seriously endangered.

Mgr. Ruch, Bishop of Strasbourg, issued a Pastoral Letter (February 7th) vigorously attacking this new menace and the whole system of the lay school. The following day the Committee of Religious Defence met in Strasbourg and decided upon its plan of action:

1. To address to the Press a message informing public



opinion of the grave events that are imminent in Alsace and Lorraine.

2. To have a public petition signed and to give it the greatest possible publicity.

3. To hold meetings throughout the diocese to expose the plan of the enemy, and to appeal to the faithful to defend themselves.

4. To take the necessary steps to organize resistance, so that no atheist hand "come to snatch the Crucifix from our schools."

These two actions led M. Blum to issue a reply to the leader of the Alsace Catholics. He accused the Bishop of joining forces with the political agitation of the French Social Party, denied ever having had the intention of introducing the lay school (though he still maintained the above-mentioned alternative), and warned the Bishop of the right of "the temporal power to repress 'abuses' of ecclesiastics subject to the Concordat." This admonition provoked a fresh declaration from Mgr. Ruch (February 14th) in which he proved that his own action was anterior to that of the French Social Party and that he had confined himself to purely religious matters. He also pointed out that the difference between secularization of teaching and suppression of religious instruction is so slight as to be non-existent. M. Blum had to beat a tactful retreat. Then as a consequence of *pour-parlers* and finally a Cabinet meeting, the maintenance of religious instruction in the two provinces was re-assured, whatever be the solution to the length of a child's stay at school.

So again the Catholics have vindicated their rights in educational matters, and apparently gained another victory. We say "apparently" advisedly, because so long as the Popular Front Government is in power and the National Association of Schoolmasters and other "lay" organizations are so fiercely anti-clerical there will be little peace for Catholics. The struggle is not yet over; it is only the close of another round.

It may be asked what is the explanation of this determined opposition to Christian teaching in Alsace. Well, it is only part of the general policy of ousting all confessional schools and of laicizing the whole of French education. Since the advent of the Third Republic this work of deChristianization has gone on and has got a strong hold upon the country, with the notable exception of the two provinces recovered in 1918. Thus the following figures taken from the *Documentation*

*Catholique* for April 24, 1937, will illustrate the growth of Lay Schools and the consequent decline of Christian Schools :

1906	Lay Schools	66,988
	Christian Schools	12,947
1912	Lay Schools	67,684
	Christian Schools	13,362
1930	Lay Schools	68,700
	Christian Schools	11,646
1931	Lay Schools	69,107
	Christian Schools	11,629
1932	Lay Schools	69,036
	Christian Schools	11,571

In 1934, of 5,199,537 children in primary schools, 4,279,304 were in Lay Schools and 920,233 were in Christian Schools. Therefore nearly five-sixths of them were receiving no religious instruction of any kind ! And in those regions where Christian Schools are comparatively numerous, like Brittany and Alsace-Lorraine, the partisans of the Lay Schools are definitely on the offensive. Clearly, the laicizing movement of the State enjoys every advantage. Since the separation of Church and State the latter contributes not a penny to the building and maintenance of Catholic schools; everything must come out of the pockets of the Catholics themselves. Catholic teachers are miserably paid, some of them receiving 150 francs a month. Moreover, preference is given to candidates for the teaching profession who are definitely "lay-minded." The story of the evolution of the teaching profession in the last fifty years is one of bribery, intimidation and cajolery on the part of the public authorities to such an extent that the National Association of Teachers has become almost a political body permeated with Communism. It is in face of such strong opposition that the Catholics of France and notably of Alsace are putting up a noble defence of Catholic principles.

FRANCIS SOMERVILLE.

## SEED-TIME IN CEYLON

**T**HERE are some 400,000 Catholics scattered over the 25,000-odd square miles of Ceylon, amongst a population overwhelmingly Buddhist with large minorities of Tamils and Moslems and a sprinkling of various Christian sects. The Church is divided into one archdiocese, Colombo, with four suffragan Sees, and of late years has shown itself very much alive, especially in building up a Christian social order to meet the infiltration of Communism. It has been my good fortune to visit Ceylon four separate times during the last eight years—a happy experience which carries with it certain less delightful obligations, for although travel may make a visitor happy because of the extreme kindness shown him, this leaves him with a corresponding debt of gratitude. In Ceylon—not especially; we dare not say that; but most markedly—I have on these four occasions been treated so generously that my sense of indebtedness is as acute as the memory of the kindness is dear. Partly because of that, I write what follows; but not altogether. Ceylon taught me much; constructive work is going forward there among Catholics such as we in Europe may envy—and imitate.

I have always chanced to arrive at Colombo, which lies on the west coast, towards sunrise. The light floods upwards from over the island in a tide of delicate gold and then pours down from the transparent dome of blue. You recognize far off Adam's Peak, till the light makes a grey dazzle in front of it; and, to the left, above the long-drawn, palm-thicketed shores, the dome of Kotahena Catholic cathedral, where Communion number some 700 daily. That was where I went, on my first visit, drawn through brilliant suburbs (so much vivid blue!) by a rickshaw-man who informed me, when I gave him a pitiable sum, that it was too much. He would not accept more than half of it. A white-cassocked Breton priest (R.I.P.) spent several hours in explaining Ceylonese statistics, Catholic and other; I saw the vast Good Shepherd convent-school (1,600 pupils, I think) close by, and the Christian Brothers' school (1,200) opposite. Perhaps these num-

<sup>1</sup> Sinhalese, Cingalese, Ceylonese, are variants with much the same meaning. The last is perhaps the most inclusive, embracing everything in the island, including the Tamils, who form 43 per cent of the native population.—Ed.

bers have by now increased. But, having had a motor-accident five months before in New Zealand, I looked at nothing else, but went to sleep on the beach beneath palm-shadows.

On later visits, I felt much stronger, but I cut out all official sight-seeing expeditions as satisfying mere curiosity and interfering with what might be more substantial.

It was now that colleges, seminaries, and convents began to loom large. I don't propose to catalogue them. They do normal Catholic work; though one cannot but be struck by the colossal size of these institutions. St. Joseph's College—St. Peter's—the Christian Brothers'—they positively apologize if they have less than 1,000 students, and the three I have mentioned average over 1,400 apiece. I could also dwell on the rapid development of a native clergy and Sisters; the variety of socially valuable works—clinics, industrial schools, leper colony; on the forty-three Catholic libraries in this sole archdiocese (that was in 1929); and on the extremely high standard of education.

But what I wanted to know was what Ceylon was likely to become, and how Catholics were preparing for the future. I knew, for example, of the intensive nationalist—and, I think, malicious—theosophist propaganda amongst the Sinhalese masses due to Colonel Olcott and Mrs. Besant, especially as that unhappy woman grew more and more embittered. I cannot say whether in her desolate last years she continued it. I knew, too, that a good deal of communist propaganda was coming in from India, and it was also my grim duty to broadcast several times,<sup>1</sup> and to make tactful allusions to Communism, at least in general. I tried, therefore, to get my further impressions from faces, first of all, especially if there was a chance of driving well beyond the city. Cities distort everything. Splendid roads. Palms, palms and for ever palms. Going one day to Negombo up the coast, I watched green, brown and yellow colouring till suddenly, across the main road, brilliant flags and streamers! The village was dedicated to St. Sebastian. Yesterday had been his feast. He is popular against epidemics, and the moment, *e.g.*,

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes at very brief notice. On one occasion, the fact and hour, etc., of a lecture were fixed on as late, I think, as noon. The "talk" was for 5.30. Between those hours, notices had been printed; an army of young Catholic Actionists had distributed them on that sweltering afternoon, and a very large audience was present in the Catholic Home, a well-appointed hostel (sleeping-cubicles included) for young men. It was odd, that afternoon, to be driving through a fairly distant village and to hear a loudspeaker blaring forth from a fruit-shop that "At 5.30, there will be a lecture by etc"! If that isn't efficient organization, what is?

malaria befalls, out he goes processionally in a sort of tower. We approached the vast church—all these churches are practically a series of arches, to admit air, with doors closeable during rain—through the relics of a triumphal avenue. Everywhere, stumps of palm-trees into which yesterday's rockets had been inserted. Many local Christians (this west coast, studded with fishing-villages, seemed predominantly Catholic. The Portuguese must have done their long-ago missionary work admirably: not even Dutch Calvinism could massacre it) and pilgrims not yet departed were in the church, praying, sitting on the pavement (no pews or chairs); men with heads bowed till they touched the floor, mothers teaching the rosary to adorable infants; boys putting rosary or scapular to the feet of a score of statues. Here was the immemorial: the unreflectingly devout. I had seen that in Croatia; in Maori mountains. And I had always asked myself what would happen were a strong, clever, materialist propaganda, making the most of misery or injustice and offering golden hopes, to attack this gentle, seemingly malleable people, especially if it began with the Buddhists? Then, after a glass of coco-nut water (nicest with a little of the soft pulp in it), we went off towards another vast church, Our Lady of Refuge—it has 8,000 parishioners; St. Sebastian, 6,000. It faced a quadrangle with schools for boys and girls on either side. Many native Sisters, all in white, like the clergy and indeed myself. The heat and the palm-trees were beginning to suffocate me; and here the priest offered us arrack! Heartening! On to Negombo, which had, I think, four churches each with some 7,000 parishioners. We went to one—it was noon; so the church was untenanted save for a vast black crow that chose to sit, cawing, over the Altar for the Dead and then swooped down on to a sort of permanent bier, black and grim with effigies of skulls. The paintings here are locally made: "crude," we might call them; but the direct expression of simple minds. After lunch in a huge room (complete with crows)—the presbytery had been built by a variety of Italian Benedictines who have since retired or died out: most of the work hereabouts is done by Oblates of Mary Immaculate—I slept the sleep of the stunned and returned to Colombo to broadcast from the great Hall of St. Peter's. Before finishing this trip, I visited the cheerful Alsatian, Father Kohler, at St. Philip Neri's—he is responsible for the Apostleship of the Sea here—and having bought

some oranges for our firemen, I returned in a lovely launch to the "Stuttgart."

Meanwhile, I had been watching the pervasive, shaven, saffron-draped Buddhist monks. How analyse their "expression"? It was as definite as that of men having to do with horses, or of sailors; or of ecclesiastics whose cast of countenance is to be recognized in stained glass, in illuminated missals, across whole centuries. The Buddhist had a serenity which could degenerate into blankness if not fatuity, or conceivably might suggest the habitual contemplation of a "reality" behind phenomena. (I know that this may sound like a Protestant criticizing Catholic monasticism; and that Hindu mystics would consider our mysticism and asceticism to be very "amateur." Still, I had to do what I could.) The mere fact that the Buddhist monk begs, lives on meagre fare (so do most Ceylonese), does a little elementary teaching of children probably themselves destined to be monks, reads his ancient spiritual, *i.e.*, very symbolical and ascetic books, and has a "benevolent" tendency (not least towards animals), does not seem to me to account sufficiently for the "expression." A real effort to empty the mind of images and ideas will not get further than mental inactivity, unless there be a "positive" beyond the ideas and images. Where there is no such serious effort, you get smugness if not a gross hypocrisy. But is there, as a rule, any such "positive" for the Buddhist?

The Buddha himself was, so we judge, a pessimist benevolent Agnostic. He refused to discuss the existence of God or personal survival. He *assumed* that existence was "pain"; saw "pain" to be due to "desire"; taught how one might rid oneself of desire and so, enter "bliss." In so far as Buddhism is loyal to this (it re-assimilated so much Brahminism and Hinduism, from which it had departed as a "heresy," that it used *not* to be loyal), it has provided a good foothold for Communism. Communism is atheist and preaches a materialist Utopia. True Buddhism was agnostic and benevolent. And "modernist" Buddhism is reverting to that. One of my friends was in a Buddhist temple full of people praying before the Buddha's statue. He said to a young monk: "Is the Buddha aware of these prayers? Does he care about these people?"

"No," said the monk, "he is in bliss. He is unaware. He is unmoved. But it is good for them to think otherwise." An aged priest overheard him, and was shocked. My friend left them wrangling. A nationalist Communism, basing itself

on the need of rectifying material misery, would win, and aims at winning, modern Buddhism, and expects to do so easily, by way of atheism, benevolence, and nationalism. Do not say: "Communism is essentially international—supernational, as the Church is!" Logically, it should be. In the long, long run, it expects to be. But is it? Russia proves that it is just the opposite. Nor will it be. It is fast becoming nationalist, militarist, and even bourgeois.

The Mohammedans, of whom there are between three and four hundred thousand in Ceylon, may prove a tougher job than the Buddhists. In Malaya, I kept hearing the praises of Chinese converts, and in Manila saw not a little of Mr. Lo Pa-Hung, who is a kind of Chinese Catholic Lord Nuffield, crossed with Ozanam. But all agreed that the Mohammedan was almost unconvertible. Will he too be corrupted by the communist? It is possible. The attempt is intensively made in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Egypt by the admirers of Kemal Attaturk: Modernism has a strong hold on the sophisticated Mohammedan intelligentia; Mohammedan mysticism always tended to go pantheist. But world-worship easily shrinks into nation-worship, and so to materialism. Then the atheist-communist has a fair field. I agree that I could not hear much about modernist Mohammedanism in Ceylon. But, benevolence not having played any considerable part in their history so far, the Mohammedans would make savage persecutors, I surmise, if they got due provocation.

In view of all this, it is splendid to find the Catholics of Ceylon not only preparing for a better future, and bringing up their boys in view of it, but taking a positive *lead* in social amelioration. St. Peter's College is only about eight years old, I think; its sports and study records are excellent; but also it insists on training the hand as well as the head. St. Paul plays his industrial part there along with St. Peter! Two years ago, an "Industrial Rally"—an Industrial Fair in miniature—was inaugurated by it; and, during the great malaria epidemic, raging when I was there for the second time, this college was brave enough, not only to prepare a vast amount of necessities for the stricken, but to send its older boys to *serve* in the Kegalle district. No doubt, the Archbishop had himself gone straight to the worst areas: but, how right-minded the parents who did not object to their sons being thus put into real danger!

But special homage must be paid to Father Pillai of



St. Peter's, Colombo, and to the Superiors who encourage him. He has accumulated degrees in Cambridge, London and Rome—and edits a journal called *Social Justice*, inspiring a "Movement for the Restoration of the Social Order." Its first number appeared in January of this year; and I found Father Pillai, with the incomparably kind Archbishop, alas! recently dead, discussing its publication in Cingalese. Perhaps it will appear, too, in Tamil. No matter. It wants to alter what is, and to produce what is not. It does not only lament or denounce: it does not provide only abstract principles. In its editorial Notes and Comments, the periodical contains a very practical concrete suggestion about housing; there is also a rather courageous challenge to Morawaka Korale Planters' Association, demanding to know why it rejected the principle of a legal living wage. Mr. S. J. K. Crowther's series of articles on Poverty in Ceylon, a poverty responsible first for under-nourishment and then for a whole list of sad consequences, has forced attention to facts. I could work through the next issues up to date, but that would take too much space. Professor R. B. Criem of Kandy is another such writer whose English is excellently clear, as is his grasp of fundamental economics. Mr. J. P. de Fonseka has a dry humour that anyone might envy. His articles (February) on "Bolshevism and the Tie" (due to the Russian Commissariat of Internal Trade having decided that Russians must be smarter, and wear ties, and having sent out lorries manned by experts to show you how to wear them "culturedly," and indeed using the radio for the same noble purpose) and another (April) on "Metabolism and the Fat Lump" (about whether it is good to be fat or not) are an absolute joy to read; and we are glad that Ceylon has someone who can give to that island as much delight as Mr. Douglas Woodruff gives (not often enough) to us. I am serious when I say that should "civilization" (it needs inverted commas) be extinguished in Europe, Ceylon could pick up the smouldering torch, and rekindle it as brightly as ever. Because we mention these writers and not others, we are not inattentive to them: but in a brief article, limits must be respected. And because we speak of the paper *Social Justice*, that does not mean that we are unaware of others of the same sort—such as *Social Order*, Allahabad, the *New Review* of Calcutta, and *Catholic Action*, *The Journal of Lay Catholic Action in the East*, edited by the



Catholic Students' Union, Bombay.' But I cannot omit Father Pillai's pamphlet "Our Social Responsibilities," an address given to the Diocesan Union of Colombo (Catholic Social Guild), which seems to me more to the point, more daring in its mention of actual local and national injustices, more able to quote relevant names, than nearly anything I can think of here, with many quotations from Encyclicals vigorously translated. I spent one whole section of the sermon alluded to above in reading aloud from it.

Well, leaving Colombo for Manila, I came first to Singapore. A vast Town Hall was packed to hear a lecture on "The Un-Making of Man" that I had imagined I was to give to a handful of ex-students of a school. After this performance, I was taken to a Chinese wedding (the celebrations last three days . . . ) when the bridegroom—such is Chinese courtesy—rose from bed and descended to give me sweets and lemonade (he was a pagan). Then I was removed to the temple of Siva and marvelled at the contrast of the god's pagoda-car, a mass of little mirrors furiously reflecting the electricity and complete with gramophone playing jazz, with the crowded, fiercely-scented temple where men were sleeping all over the concrete floor (higher-caste men being roped off); and finally, after midnight, I was allowed to go home to sleep on a bed with no bed-clothes at all, so that by 3 a.m. I was frozen by the temperature which took a header just about then, and could not believe that in two hours and a half I should be drenched, during Mass, beneath the weight of alb and feather-light vestments!

And, returning yet again from Manila via Ceylon, the loveliest hours of any, perhaps, were spent, *after* the inevitable lecture, in a true Ceylonese house where I rested and had supper (and such a nice one!). When I arrived, the croton leaves were vehement scarlet, lemon-yellow, and rich green. When I left, the moon had turned them all into indigo, pearl and grey, and the planet Venus made a wide street of glory across a lake seen between palms by the roadside.

The memory of that Ceylon home was a very precious gift to carry away with me, and I am sure that those who are working so hard to save Ceylon from a tragic future and to

<sup>1</sup> I said, in a pulpit where I held the latter up in my hand to admiration, last Sunday (May 30th), that I wished *our* students could produce the like. And next day, I received *Integration* a Catholic Undergraduate journal from Cambridge. Maybe even we, even we here, may come to emulate India and Ceylon!

ensure for it a happy one, cannot do better than to produce as many homes and families, just like that one, as they possibly can.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—On this subject of the active Catholicity of Ceylon we may be permitted to recall an article in *THE MONTH* for January this year called "Trappists in the Tropics," by Mr. S. J. K. Crowther, mentioned above, which narrates the aims and achievements of the "Brothers of the Rosary," an austere yet growing community in North Ceylon, which seeks to stem the onset of materialistic communism by an heroic life of poverty and prayer: and also a description, in April, 1934, of a visit of Clemen-ceau the "Tiger," to the College of the French Oblates of Mary in Colombo in 1921, written with much humour and philosophical insight by Mr. J. P. de Fonseka, then attached to the college. These papers gave a foretaste of the literary ability and sound Christian thought conspicuous in *Social Action*.]

## *Sons of Sorrow*

OVER the world's far highways the sons of sorrow fare;  
 Their eyes are fixed with longing, their brows are lined with  
 care;  
 And the load of the world's weeping within their souls they bear.

But the load of the world's weeping is a song within their breast;  
 And their languor and their labour are a rest that is more than rest;  
 The starry hills are their haven, and a star their quest.

To the rose-flushed heights of morning, dreams of a dream, they  
 tread;  
 Through a sad unchanging twilight, under a pall of lead,  
 They pass with songs and pageant to the hushed land of the dead.

As men from a far country they mingle at moot and mart;  
 They walk with sage and simple, but still they walk apart;  
 And no man knows the secret they hide within their heart.

They walk the world's far highways, they breathe the whole  
 world's cares,  
 Laughter and love and anguish, but not the world's despairs;  
 They are the sons of sorrow, and there is no joy like theirs.

NEVILLE WATTS.

## THE WALSINGHAM WAY

"IT is better to travel hopefully than to arrive," says R.L.S., and too frequently this somewhat ironical phrase is true to experience. How many excursions are planned and undertaken with the right degree of zest, only to find that some imp of discord is awaiting us at our journey's end? Few journeys can be recalled with complete contentment; but to one pilgrim who went "the Walsingham Way" the memories gathered there proved lovely beyond anticipation.

It was on a clear afternoon in early April that the pilgrimage began, not afoot as it would be more picturesque to state, but in the comfort of an admirable car. Here, indeed, there was no penance! but let me hastily recall the only pea in my pilgrim's shoon—that dismal hostelry at St. Alban's where we paused for a meal of surpassing unpalatableness. When the fast days vanished from the calendar, did the kitchens of England lose for ever the art of cooking fish? However, the first glimpse of Cambridgeshire in one of its loveliest aspects was enough to make fatigue and hunger seem negligible. There I beheld in their living grace the pines already beautifully limned by Rupert Brooke:

... against the white north sky,  
Very beautiful and still and bending over  
Their sharp black heads against a quiet sky.

What a militia they were, striding right, striding left, strongly but not sinisterly black against a pale coloured sky. Nothing else was so memorable until we reached Bury St. Edmunds and halted at an old gateway which was the very portal of History. There we rested awhile in a pleasant garden, and there, too, we entered an old church and saw with startled delight an amazing flock of wooden angels winging forth from the dim roof. It set us back in the ages of Faith when to go on pilgrimage was a commonplace.

We entered Norfolk at dusk when one could just perceive stretches of tawny brown earth and turf mistily green in the fading light. It was a magical hour for pondering upon beauty, recalled or anticipated. We passed through remote hamlets with their little homes nestling against the comfort-

able twilight, and tidy farms where a guardian dog hailed us as we passed. Here and there the tower of a church stood sturdily against the sky—one of those mellow, browning churches which are so profusely scattered across Norfolk. And now, although Walsingham is our goal, let me stray momentarily to those other churches in Norfolk whose names would make a pleasant litany if all could be given here.

Blakeney, with its slender tower where formerly a light burned for storm-tossed mariners on that cold North Sea beyond; Morston, so white and cool that the sea might have just laved it and left, as it withdrew, those large white shells which, touchingly enough, are sole memorial on many of the graves. Cley-next-Sea, where the imp with one glass eye winked down at us so gamesomely when the light struck him at the right angle! Norwich, with its sensational array of bosses—"keyholes of heaven and hell"—renovated and a little garish, but possibly not more so than when their colours first met the light. St. Julian's church, there, where a few vestiges of the foundations of Dame Julian's anchorhold still remain, and the lintel of the window of her cell. Wymondham, with its old brown-paper coloured houses (so reminiscent of Lisieux), and that splendid abbey where, through the open arch of a window in the tower a bird wheeled suddenly, bringing life and rhythm into the old stonework. Then I recalled that most exquisite of poems wherein

. . . a bird flew up out of the turret  
Above the Traveller's head

—the Traveller who returns to that house of the past where only a host of phantom listeners awaits his coming. It was easy to share the Traveller's percipient mood in these pre-Reformation churches; and to imagine them as imbued with deep, stilled patience, awaiting One whose absence had left them desolate, and for whom the old stones waited, listened, endured. Perhaps this is a secret breathed only to those pilgrims who hear the same echoes, see the same ghosts, and catch the same undertone of prayers said long ago and still remembered by those ancient walls.

But these were impressions gathered later. When our long drive ended at last we retired thankfully to one of those delightful cottage bedrooms where the tranquillity of candle-light vies with the dewy silence of a country night. Walsingham was now barely six miles away, and the thought of its

nearness gave a sense of benediction. It will be seen that we were in true pilgrim's mood, and that the spell of Walsingham had caught us even before we reached the shrine. There is a peculiar thrill in the traditional, and it pleased us to know that we had come on the same errand as other innumerable pilgrims for centuries before the Reformation.

The story of Walsingham is, like the story of many saints, extremely romantic, and one would need the colours of a medieval Book of Hours to depict it as it deserves. And, so portrayed, what strangely contrasted pilgrims would appear in the vignettes!—here a crowned king in his vermillion and gold; there a palmer shabbily grey; abbot, crusader, nun, peasant, priest—all silhouetted against a gently green English landscape. And on every page there would be the silver lilies of the Annunciation, for this joyful mystery was especially honoured at Walsingham.

An early poem recalls the lovely tradition that Our Lady herself chose the site of her shrine, and decreed that it should reproduce the Holy House at Nazareth. Hence the title "England's Nazareth" by which Walsingham was popularly known—and its popularity at home and abroad made it the medieval equivalent of Lourdes. The healing of the body was sought there, as well as deliverance from spiritual ills:

Many seke ben here cured by our ladyes myghte,  
Dede agayne revyved, of this is no dought,  
Lame made hole, and blynde restored to syghte,  
Maryners vexed with tempest safe to porte brought,  
Defe, wounde and lunatyke that hyder have sought,  
And also lepers here recovered have be,  
By oure ladyes grace of their infirmyte.

Folke that of fendys have had acombraunce,  
And of wychked spyrytes also moche vexacyon,  
Have here be delyvered from every such chaunce,  
And soules greatly vexed with gostely temptacyon;  
Lo here the chyef solace against all tribulacyon,  
To all that be seke bodely or goostly,  
Callynge to our ladye devoutly.<sup>1</sup>

So enmeshed with the thoughts of the people was this shrine that even the Milky Way was said to lead towards Walsingham!—a charming fancy which may indeed have revived tired pilgrims plodding along the terrestrial "Palmer's"

<sup>1</sup> Given in "Walsingham, the English Loreto," by the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J., in *THE MONTH* for September, 1901, from which the historical details in this paper are also derived.

Way." One notable pilgrim was Erasmus who has left a vivid account of his visit, although (being Erasmus) it is one in which piety and irony are intermingled. He tells us that the tiny chapel of the shrine held a profusion of candles—(those exquisite votaries dear to the æsthetic as well as the devout)—and in their suave but wavering light he perceived the glittering gold and silver votive offerings surrounding the altar. At one corner stood the renowned statue of Our Lady of Walsingham; "exceptional neither in material nor in workmanship, although in virtue it is most efficacious." Possibly this shrine was very similar to that of Our Lady at Caversham with its "lights, shrouds, crutches, images of wax"—these last being of considerable size if they resembled the "image of wax of the weight of you" by which the sick husband of Margaret Paston was represented at Walsingham.<sup>1</sup>

A pilgrim even more noteworthy than Erasmus was Henry VIII, who, tradition says, walked the pilgrim's mile to the shrine and offered a rich necklace to Our Lady. He had made numerous other bequests, and "the King's Mass" was said and "the King's Candle" kept burning there throughout the year. It was still alight when the bleak March winds of 1538 swept through that tiny chapel; and some clerk or other wrote his neat crabbed entry in the royal accounts:

"43s. 4d. for the King's Candle before Our Lady of Walsingham."

"100 shillings for the King's salary before Our Lady." In the following September the same entry was repeated, but against it is written a word of grim significance—"nil." Between those two entries lies enough history to fill many volumes; and the evidence of a mentality so perverted that its analysis is best left to the theologians and psychologists.

Now the Reformers, eager to abase Our Lady's glory, bestow on her a title, heretical indeed, but nevertheless glamorous—"the goddess beside the sea." (This association of Walsingham with the sea is echoed by Erasmus, although it is actually some miles inland. But the sense of nearness to the sea pervades the villages around Walsingham, and although only a streak of harsh silver may at times be glimpsed, the North Sea breathes saltily across that open country-side.)

"The goddess beside the sea" was soon to be reft of her shrine and her pilgrims. At Walsingham, as elsewhere, the

<sup>1</sup> "Paston Letters," September, 1443.

process of despoliation was rapidly accomplished. The Priory was confiscated, the shrine stripped, and the beloved statue of Our Lady removed to London. Its arrival there on July 18, 1538, had a certain element of ceremony, though nothing of ritual: "This day," writes John Hussey to Lord Lisle, "our late Lady of Walsingham was brought to Lambeth where was both my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal, with many virtuous prelates, but there was offered neither ob. [oblatio? obol? ] nor candle; what shall become of her is not determined."

Meanwhile, the statue is placed in Cromwell's house, possibly in that "wardrobe of beds" in which his steward placed the statues now rapidly arriving. A fortnight later Our Lady of Ipswich joins that pitiful little company, stripped of all her glory with "nothing about her but two half shoes of silver and four stones of crystal set in silver." St. Anne of Buxton is another newcomer—(the mother of the Mother, to share her daughter's fate!)—and St. Modwen of Burton-on-Trent "with her red cow and her staff." That name means little or nothing to our own generation; it meant much to the women of the fifteenth century who made St. Modwen's staff their support through expectant motherhood. This tiny detail gives us a piercing glimpse of what was wrenched out of the people's lives when these statues were destroyed. For they were not merely pious images, they were *friends* to successive generations, and before them the intimacies of daily life, the fears, the hopes, the fulfillments, were trustfully laid bare.

The statue of Our Lady of Walsingham was destroyed by stealth, and with it the loveliest of England's medieval devotions seemed terminated. Yet how many of the faithful must have continued to say their secret sorrowful prayers to her whose beauty had been so dishonoured? And it is not as one man's poem, but as the lament of his generation that we read such lines as these:

Bitter, bitter oh to behold  
 the grasse to growe  
 Where the walles of Walsingham  
 so statly did sheue.  
 Levell, levell with the ground  
 the towres do lye  
 Which with their golden glitteringe tops  
 pearsed once to the skye.



Sinne is where our Ladie sate,  
 heauen turned is to hell,  
 Sathan sattes wher our Lord did swaye,  
 Walsingham, oh farewell.<sup>1</sup>

For over three hundred years it was farewell indeed; but Walsingham, that "mayden that is makeless" among shrines, was not dead but sleeping. Towards the close of the last century there came the first stirrings of new life in a cult which had been so long discarded. The old Slipper Chapel at Houghton (the last halt on the "Palmer's Way," where shoes were doffed and the pilgrims shriven before they entered Walsingham), was restored and given back to the Church. There we may kneel to-day, with the echoes of century-old prayers mingling with our own; and ponder how the desecration and violence of the past have blown away like leaves upon the wind.

This, then, is the story of the shrine at Walsingham, the goal of our somewhat circuitous journey. We set forth to Walsingham in the late afternoon when the brightness which follows rain made the country sharply green and exquisitely fresh. As we drove into Little Walsingham we passed the Anglican shrine of Our Lady, a white building with a trim cypress at each side of the cobbled courtyard. Our first halt was at the Catholic Guest House of St. Aelred<sup>2</sup> where, in a singularly beautiful chapel, small and sanctified, we found Our Lady of Walsingham enthroned. There we felt that we had at last entered into her secret territory.

We had to retrace our steps some little distance to reach the Priory. Passing through a fine medieval gateway one is confronted by the splendid East Window, all that now remains of the Priory church. The original shrine of Our Lady was a small separate chapel which stood between this church and the monastery wall. Pilgrims who turn aside from the East Window will see on their left an old gateway—the Knight's Gateway—in the boundary wall; and notice on the intervening lawn a space where the ground level is perceptibly lowered. This was originally the site of the famous shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

Of that shrine not a fragment now remains; silence has

<sup>1</sup> Often attributed to Philip Howard, but more possibly written by Robert Southwell, grandson of Sir Richard Southwell who received part of the confiscated lands of Walsingham Priory.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic pilgrims can be accommodated here, or at the Black Lion Hotel. The "Pilgrim Hospice" is under Anglican supervision.



replaced the shuffling feet of pilgrims, and the dew upon the grass is all that sparkles where once candles blazed superbly. On the day we visited it there was only one note of pomp, surprising enough in that green and sequestered place—a peacock somewhat inconsequently perched upon a shabby wall where his outspread tail had an almost tinselled brightness. The Pilgrims' Wells made less of an appeal, to me at least, because their original devout purpose has deteriorated into those superstitious "wishings" which are as popular as they are ineffectual. There was more charm in the primroses and daffodils which were already spangling the grass, and which stressed the eternal creativeness of nature against the evidence of man's destructiveness.

On leaving the Priory ruins we drove through the town which is like its name, "little" and lovable. We turned where a signpost indicated "To the Slipper Chapel"—this was the last lap of the Walsingham Way. The road was singularly empty. One could scarcely imagine it as it was of old, not intermittently but constantly, with its pilgrim retinues, the palfreys, the litters, the spurred knights and plodding palmers—that hurly-burly of medieval travelling folk whom our fancy re-creates as decorative and gallant (like tapestry figures suddenly come to life!)—but who may well have been as tiresome in the flesh as our neighbours on a modern "conducted tour."

At last we reached the Slipper Chapel. It is a roadside shrine with no pompous approach to it. It is small, it is kind, and mellowed by Time. It makes one picture the Porch of Paradise, set among such green and pleasant pastures, with such a sky arching above it. The door handle resisted, then yielded suddenly, and we stepped into silence, into the light of many candles, and a little garden of flowers clustering around the shrine. The chapel is happily free from superfluous adornment. Nothing glitters, nothing jars; and the colours in the reredos, and the dim gold brocade curtaining the tabernacle, blend amiably with the blue brocade which canopies Our Lady's statue. This statue is indescribably beautiful. I do not know if G.K.C. ever took "the Walsingham Way," but I cannot doubt that a face like this hovered in his thoughts when he wrote of Our Lady:

Her face was like an open word  
When brave men speak and choose,  
The very colours of her coat  
Were better than good news.

And again :

One instant in a still light  
He saw Our Lady then,  
Her dress was soft as western sky,  
And she was a queen most womanly,  
But she was a queen of men.

How many unquiet hearts have laid aside their burdens at this shrine; how many tears shed themselves into peace before this royal Lady! We who had carried with us a pilgrim's wallet of petitions found that it sufficed that we had at last reached our "spirit's Palestine." And though all entrusted prayers were duly confided, it was sweeter to praise than to entreat, to love rather than to petition her whose grave and steadfast face looked down upon us.

We made a festival of lights, and left at the shrine those "letters" which pleased the childlike faith in us, and must no less please heaven by their simplicity. Time passed, but something of eternity lingered between those walls, and we knelt on content and stilled.

At last we came away. It was early in the evening and the light was still clear. Around the Slipper Chapel a veritable litany of birds' voices echoed and re-echoed. Rarely, if ever, have I heard such artless, exquisite notes, and as I listened I thought that so the birds must have sung when Gabriel came to Mary.

The road was empty. Beyond we saw the gentle outline of hills; all was green, tranquil and secluded. Here we had touched the core of Peace—more than that, the listening heart of Our Lady whom to behold even through the blindfold eyes of Prayer, is to find healing of heart and, for the soul, home-coming.

M. O'ROURKE.

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#### EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,500 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted. As a general rule, subjects dealing with the exposition of theology and ethics are reserved to the staff.

## A MODERN LYCIDAS

DIGBY MACKWORTH DOLBEN : 1848—1867

**W**HAT Robert Bridges did to rescue the memory and the achievement of Gerard Manley Hopkins from comparative oblivion is well known, and posterity will always gratefully acknowledge its debt to him. But the late Laureate's connexion with a younger acquaintance of Hopkins, Digby Mackworth Dolben, whose early death by drowning in 1867 closed a poetic career of much promise, is not so familiar, and yet deserves recall. Hopkins met the younger man but once, at Oxford in 1865 when the latter was visiting Bridges, but was strongly attracted by him, and wrote "letters without end" to him during their brief acquaintance.<sup>1</sup> But what we know about Dolben is due to Bridges's exquisite "Memoir"<sup>2</sup> of his friend, prefixed to his edition of his poems.

Bridges, who was a distant relative of Dolben's, had taken care of the younger boy at Eton, and formed there a close and trustful friendship with him. As material for his "Memoir" he had but a score or so of letters addressed to himself, and two or three memoranda sent to him by other friends; these, with his own deep and sympathetic recollections, not only enabled him to produce a complete and intimately satisfying portrait, but also, even out of the contrast he recognized from the first between Dolben's poetic temperament and his own, to appraise his friend's essentially romantic endowment. He makes Dolben appear as a native in the realms of poetry; what comes home to us is his difference from the other poets, his fellows there; his community with them is the background against which his originality is set. The conflicting attraction of pagan Greece and Christian Rome he never completely resolved in his verse.

Singularly enough, another poet, who figures so largely in the literary life of G. M. Hopkins, Richard Watson Dixon, has also been the subject of a "Memoir" by Bridges. Dixon,

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Abbott's "Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins," Vol. I, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Published late in 1911. The delay of forty-five years was not due to Mr. Bridges but to the hostility of Dolben's family to the Catholic Faith. They apparently preferred that the young poet's fame should be lost or obscured rather than that his intention of becoming a Catholic should be known.

a man of an earlier Etonian generation, was introduced to Bridges by Hopkins in 1878: he had no intercourse with Dolben. Although so intimate with two religious enthusiasts, Bridges, after a short bout of "Puseyism," settled down to a religion of his own, the worship of art; much as, earlier, James Anthony Froude reacted into rationalism from the "Catholicism" of his brother Hurrell. It is true that there was little to attract a somewhat worldly nature in the perfervid practices to which the atmosphere of the Oxford Movement aroused Dolben's poetic soul. Yet at first it was not poetry only but also religion that drew them together in that time of ferment. "We were both of us Pusey-ites," writes Bridges; "neither of us at that time doubted that our *toga virilis* would be the cassock of a priest or the habit of a monk." But wider sympathies and an athletic life gave Bridges already the cooler head; he claims that his enthusiasm for poetry equalled Dolben's, but that while he gravitated to the masters—Shakespeare, Milton, Keats—Dolben was "more widely read," and "more abreast with the taste of the day": "Browning, Mrs. Browning, Tennyson and Ruskin were the authors of whom he would talk; and among the poets he ranked Faber, a Romanized clergyman, of whose works I have nothing to say. . ."

However, at the moment at least he was sympathetic enough to retain Dolben's confidence; and when, under the influence of young Joseph Leycester Lyne, the famous "Father Ignatius, O.S.B.," the latter became "Brother Dominic," in the institution which aimed at "restoring" religious life to Anglicanism, he was not without hopes of getting Bridges to join. After an escapade from Eton, during which he met Dr. Pusey and Lyne at Ascot Priory, he wrote to Bridges: "I have so much to tell you about a certain visit I paid to Ascot Priory, where I met my Superior. If you are not yet converted to the Father, I flatter myself I shall convert you."

Bridges was not converted—any more than he was by the more deliberate and determined example of Hopkins, whose reception into the Church preceded the young man's death by about eight months. But he clung to his friendship with Hopkins and is glad to quote in the "Memoir" the tribute which the latter paid to Dolben on hearing of his demise:

You know there can very seldom have happened the loss of so much beauty (in body and mind and life) and

of the promise of still more, as there has been in his case—seldom, I mean, in the whole world, for the conditions would not easily come together.<sup>1</sup>

Bridges's own judgment is given in the "Memoir":

When Dolben went to Boughrood (before going up to Oxford) he was just eighteen years old, and I should say—though I do not wish to anticipate the estimate of his genius—that the poems which he now began to produce will compare with, if they do not as I believe excel, anything that was ever written by any English poet at his age; and the work is not only of rare promise but occasionally of the rarest attainment, and its beauties are original.

Dolben died sixteen months later, and we know, although Dr. Bridges hardly meant to suggest the comparison, that it was in his twentieth year that Milton wrote his "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity."

However, there are, strangely enough, some points of affinity between Dolben and Milton, and on these, since that great name has been mentioned, it may be pleasant to touch. In the first place both were steeped in the classics, and then the inspiration of both was profoundly religious; though religion in Dolben's case had a medieval and romantic colour, far removed from the Puritanism that fettered Milton's genius, and at times he touches that note of austere and simple devotion that Milton commands.<sup>2</sup>

In the following we have not merely promise but achievement. It is inspired by a school-friendship, intense yet unrequited.

The world is young to-day;  
Forget the gods are old,  
Forget the years of gold  
When all the months were May.

A little flower of Love  
Is ours, without a root,  
Without an end in fruit,  
Yet—take the scent thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bridges, Abbott, "Letters," Vol. I, pp. 16—17.

<sup>2</sup> It is certain that, but for his father's opposition, he would have joined the Church before he met his death: he had been to the Oratory to see Newman who counselled him to wait. See Mrs. Warre-Cornish's article, "Digby Dolben," in *The Dublin Review*, January, 1913, pp. 126 sqq.

There may be hope above,  
 There may be rest beneath;  
 We see them not, but Death  
 Is palpable—and Love.

Bridges traces several strains in Dolben's rich endowment, "an early love of Christ into which he had devotedly poured his whole being"; the idealizing adoration of a companion who was unaware of it; the growing influence of Greek thought and poetry, and a medievalism part-inspired by the pre-Raphaelites and their æsthetic cult of chivalry. He did not live long enough to harmonize these elements, but rather heightened the discord between them to a romantic pitch, "obstinately valued for the bitter-sweet of its irreconcilable antinomies."

When, in the '60's, the two friends were at Eton, they were associated with a group of "Anglo-Catholic" youths whose religious leanings were a cause of considerable anxiety to the Protestant authorities of the college. Not all, however, went so far as Dolben, who, already a "Benedictine" novice, used in vacation to roam the country barefooted and in monk's habit, and tried in vain to induce his friend to share his pilgrimages. Even the sympathetic Hopkins agrees with Bridges that "there was a great want of strength in Dolben—more, of sense."<sup>1</sup> But perhaps his early association with the visionary, Lyne, was at the root of these extravagances of behaviour.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, since no poetry, written after our culture became Christian, can escape indebtedness to the Faith which has added so greatly to the clearness and depth of poetic vision, Dolben's religious zeal was an immense literary asset. The agnostic may devote himself to writing poetry that shall be flawless as verbal music, and that music may be of an extremely exacting and subtle kind, but all this is only the outer vesture. Dolben also gives minute attention to working over and over his lines, to punctuation, to placing capital letters as a refinement for indicating accent; yet, he is equally or more insistent on the matter to which he would give expression. He is as much concerned with truth as with beauty. How much the less fanciful genius of Bridges contributed to the whole achievement we can only surmise from

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bridges, Abbott, "Letters," Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> His family removed him from Eton partly because his eyesight was threatened, partly because of a visit he had paid to Beaumont College to pursue his inquiries about the Faith. See Mrs. Warre-Cornish's article in the *Dublin Review*, p. 121.

the "Memoir." The older youth—there were but four years between them—seems to have been a principal restraining element in his life, an administrator of salutary checks when idealism touched the danger point, the representative, as it were, in the literary combine, of prose. But, none the less, it is to him that readers owe their ability to enter perfectly into the beauty of the whole result, savouring a certain luxuriance which is a characteristic of it, and also its humour. The "Memoir" is an exquisite piece of work, a masterpiece of biographical evocation, and, in its intimate understanding of a poet's mind, a permanent contribution to criticism.

The poet's singing robes are of many fabrics. After reading the "Memoir" one envisages Dolben as clothed in purple, stiff with classic gold; but the purple robe is worn loosely over a clinging garment of impenetrable grey. In nobility of thought and utterance he is with the masters, but his melancholy and solitude stand between his art and its popular vogue. In the "Memoir," the severity of Bridges's style, its vivacity, in spite of the critical deliberation with which every word has been weighed, still more its downright reserve, and the personal manner in which a relish for human and endearing oddity is harmonized with a most delicate respect for what is beautiful and serious in character, are a revelation of the author's soul as well as of that of his subject.

Dolben was only fourteen when he was sent to the same dame's house at Eton as Bridges and became his "fag." The latter soon discovered his "high seriousness."

I could not have talked to him without discovering the attraction of our similar inclinations and outlook on life, for, different as we were in physical temperament, different as boys could be, we were both of us terribly serious, determined, and of artistic bent, and had come through the same sort of home-teaching to the same mental perplexity. We satisfied our natural bias towards art by poetry, but the magnitude of the religious problems which we had been led up to face, was occupying our attention; it involved both our spiritual and practical interests in life. A sectarian training had provided us with premises which, so long as they remained unquestioned, were of overwhelming significance; they dominated everything: the logical situation was appalling: the ordinary conventions of life were to us merely absurd;



we regarded the claim of the Church in the same way as Cardinal Newman had elaborated it in his writings; and we were, no doubt, indirectly influenced by his views, though I had never myself read any controversial books, and had little taste for them.

Robert Bridges goes on to say that Dolben "seemed of a different species, among little ruffians a saint, among sportive animals a distressful spirit." There were, he says, among the 800 boys some ten or twelve other High Church boys "who, though they in no sense formed a set, were aware of each other, and formed a sort of freemasonry." No doubt, Bridges, with his athletic physique and the power of self-assertion which marked him to the end, shielded his charge from many of the trials to which the weak and diffident are exposed in the common life of a big school. And as far as he could he acted as a brake on those early impulses towards the full Catholic Faith which he noticed in his friend. After describing Dolben's strong trend towards Rome, and the troubles it got him into both at school and at home, he adds:

For minds nurtured from childhood in unquestioning submission to a system of religious dogma it is very difficult to break sufficiently away from their position to see the full bearing and breadth of the philosophic objections; and this step Prichard [his temporary tutor] had led Digby to take. He now saw that his logical position was indefensible, or, at least, that he was not sufficiently armed to defend it. Something had to be shifted, and he did not know what. Now I rejoiced at this, for I had an unconquerable repugnance to the full-blown Roman theology, whither, as I feared, Digby was drifting. . .

It is useless to surmise whether, as in the case of G. M. Hopkins, a Catholic Dolben, grown to literary maturity, would have produced great religious poetry. We can only say that whatever development was possible would have been hastened rather than checked by the sublime revelations of Catholic dogma. Wordsworth said of Faber that his conversion had lost to England a great poet: he may have meant that other and higher duties had left no time for poetry. Anyhow, Dolben's "remains" will always attract students of poetry, if not the general public. The secret of his possible fame must remain impenetrable, but from the subjects of his

choice and the varied yet mournful cadences of his existing verse, we may conjecture that he would have developed a rich elegiac vein. It is clear that he asks from the reader a certain emotional response and that he has mastered those metrical subtleties which are apt to evoke it. Some of his most perfect poems do little more than call to life a vague sadness as if the wraith of some remote half-forgotten experience, too tenuous to sustain thought, had been awakened. They are "unsubstantial fairy things" but they are hard to forget, as witness that haunting four-stanzaed lyric which begins :

White in the moon the long road lies,  
The moon stands blank above;  
White in the moon the long road lies  
That leads me from my love.

Bridges well sums up the difference of attitude towards poetry seen in Dolben's work to that which he himself experienced :

Our instinctive attitudes [he writes] were very dissimilar; he regarded poetry from the emotional, and I from the artistic side, and he was thus of a much intenser poetic temperament than I, for when he began to write poetry he would never have written on any subject that did not deeply move him, nor would he attend to poetry unless it expressed his own emotions; and I should say that he liked poetry on account of the power that it had of exciting his valued emotions, and he may perhaps have recognized it as the language of faith. What had led me to poetry was the inexhaustible satisfaction of form, the magic of speech, lying as it seemed to me in the masterly control of the material: it was an art which I hoped to learn.

And he quotes, as illustrating Dolben's view :

Poetry, the hand that wrings,  
Bruised albeit at the strings,  
Music from the soul of things—

and adds :

There is a point in art where these two ways merge and unite, but in apprenticeship they are opposite approaches.

His genius was early understood and fostered even in his

own home, where his precocity was unthwarted, where, indeed, the atmosphere of evangelical devotion which he was so to develop was responsible for the premature tension that marked his emotional and spiritual life. He never emerged, he had not time to emerge, from that absorbing atmosphere, before he was snatched away, like Lycidas in youth and in destiny, to die e'er his prime.

Hopkins, as we have said, was rescued by Bridges from literary oblivion but, once thus brought to life, will remain for ever through his own vitality with the immortals. But Dolben, similarly resuscitated can hardly hope to continue to live without that fostering care. Although it would not be fair to say that the "Poems" exist to give charm and clearness to the "Memoir," for they have substantial value of their own, still—our Anthologies are crowded with forgotten poets who in their day knew how to sing and build the lofty rhyme, yet have gone beyond recall from the thoughts and speech of men.

FELIX HOPE.

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## *The Prodigal's Return*

"This my son was dead, and he hath come to life; he was lost, and he is found."—St. Luke xv, 24.

LIKE some weird shadow on a moonlit moor,  
That sways, now dim, now clearer, in the light,  
I see you coming, running through the night,  
And standing, lo! you hesitate, unsure,  
Whether e'en now, or ere you knock, so poor,  
Unfed, unkempt, in rags, a shameful sight,  
I shall receive you in your desperate plight  
Or 'gainst your tear-streaked face my door secure.

Nay, Child, whom once I've held upon my knee,  
And cherished fondly in the days gone by,  
Feeling your tiny fingers on my cheek,  
Your kisses on my lips, hearing you cry  
And laugh, and whisper words of love to me—  
Am I not Father still, my Child so weak?

ROBERT BYRNE.

## THE FAITH OF THE ORTHODOX

ORTHODOXY<sup>1</sup> is something much more than a "static edition of Catholicism minus the Pope," or a "kind of golden mean between Catholicism and Protestantism," though what its particular essential quality is has never yet been satisfactorily defined and formulated. This fundamental uncertainty is in large measure due to the varied and often conflicting views of the Orthodox themselves. In recent times Russia has commonly been looked on as the "world-church" of Orthodoxy (not unnaturally, in view of her tremendous numerical majority), and the dispersal by the revolution of many of her teachers throughout the West has further increased interest in their doctrines, and a brief survey of the more important of these may be helpful in view of the Edinburgh "World Conference on Faith and Order" to be held next month.

When compared with that of the West, Eastern theology is found to be mystical or contemplative, strongly patristic, unsystematized, and undeveloped.<sup>2</sup> While the West has paid far more attention to the relation of philosophy with theology, the East has excelled in the use made of the authority of the Fathers. For the Orthodox the patristic period (with certain reservations) lasted on till the first half of the last century, and this absence of a scholastic period accounts to a considerable extent for the lack of system and formulation in their theological ideas. Some of the most outstanding matters of belief in traditional Christianity, *e.g.*, concerning Our Lady and the saints, the problems of eschatology, have never been properly developed and set out—but that does not mean that they have no part in Orthodox religion. It is true that for most believers the doctrinal statements of the seventeenth-

<sup>1</sup> Some particulars of the Orthodox Churches to-day were given in *THE MONTH* for last June. Further details of their history and theology may be found in Dr. Fortescue's "Eastern Orthodox Church" and in the present writer's "Dissident Eastern Churches," shortly to be published (Coldwell, London).

<sup>2</sup> The only unassailable statements of Orthodox dogma are the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople and the acts of the first seven Œcumenical Councils. Such statements as those of Gennadios Skholarios (1453), of Peter Mogilas (1667) and of Dosiethos of Jerusalem (1672), and the catechisms of Platon and Philaret of Moscow (1766—1776, 1823—1827), are important and weighty, but their binding force is now contested by many.

century theologians, approved by patriarchs and synods, have the force of dogma, but there has been a reaction against them (especially among the Russians), without doubt due in part to the pseudo-scholastic form—condemned as “Western rationalism”—in which those theologians presented their “confessions.”<sup>1</sup>

There is no need to go over that large body of dogma wherein there is no substantial difference between Orthodox and Catholic teaching, but reference may be made to the principal points of doctrinal divergence. In general I take as my guide the “Greek Orthodox Catechism” of Father Constantine Kallinikos, which is a reliable statement of traditional teaching, approved by the holy synod of Athens for use in Greek schools.<sup>2</sup>

*The Church.* The fundamental doctrinal divergence between Catholicism and Orthodoxy concerns the Church herself as such, what she is and wherein resides her teaching authority. Even here it is not possible to make a statement that will be valid and unquestioned among all Orthodox. What is certain is that, while Catholics often tend to emphasize the exterior, legal, and social aspects of the Church and her quantitative extension, the Orthodox are largely indifferent to such considerations and concerned almost exclusively with her spiritual aspects and the quality of her members and of their religious consciousness. This is one reason for their indifference to what appear to Western eyes as the ravages of ecclesiastical nationalism; these autocephalous Churches find their unity in the common life of Christ's Mystical Body, confessing the same faith, sharing the same sacraments, without the addition of any unity of Church administration or common visible authority. But the scope of their unity of faith must not be over-estimated: they hold together doctrinally partly because their common body of faith is so small as to admit of a wide field of doctrinal disagreement.

<sup>1</sup> Many distinguished Eastern theologians have been laymen; Khomiakov (1804—1860) and Soloviev (1853—1900) in the past, Glubokovsky and Andrououts at the present. Even preaching by laymen is not unknown. On the general aspects of Byzantine theology, see V. Grumel in *Echos d'Orient*, No. 164, October—December, 1931, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Father Kallinikos was priest in charge of the Greek church in Manchester, and an excellent English version of his book was published in London (20 Newton Road, W.2) in 1926. It is not a catechism as we ordinarily understand that word, but rather in the sense of the Tridentine “Roman Catechism,” a handbook for the use of instructors. It is concerned with “what we should believe, how we should behave, and in what way we should worship.”

The Church, says Mgr. Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens, is the body of the faithful, founded by Jesus Christ, an organization and an organism, visible and invisible; its purpose is the sanctification of men and the building of the Kingdom of God; it is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic; as a visible society it is an infallible teacher. Thus far no Orthodox would dissent, but the Archbishop of Athens, even in the discussion of his definition (*Orthodox-Catholic Review*, No. 7, Brooklyn, 1927, p. 286), leaves a lot unsaid. How, for example, does the Church speak infallibly? The Orthodox patriarchs in their answer to the Apostolic Letter "In suprema" of Pope Pius IX in 1848 (which is the point of departure of much recent discussion of the question) said, "The real guardian of religion is the body of the Church, that is, the people itself," and so we find Khomiakov and his followers entirely dissociating the guardianship of truth from the hierarchical order and denying infallibility even to an Œcumenical Council. Its decisions are true and its status œcumenical only if the faithful ratify and accept them; there is no *ecclesia docens* apart from the whole Church (*sobornost*). It is only a step from this to a denial that the Orthodox Church recognizes any external authority at all, and some have taken that step: Our Lord, His Apostles, the Councils, bishops, are not "authority"; they are part of "the infinite stream of the life of grace."

These opinions certainly do not represent traditional Orthodox teaching and, though popular, are less widely received than is often supposed. Most Greek and other more conservative theologians maintain Œcumenical Councils to be the highest authority in the Church,<sup>1</sup> made dogmatically infallible by the direction of the Holy Ghost; if a given synod is really œcumenical, then its decrees will receive the common recognition of the faithful. The "reunion council" of Florence would illustrate this view. It had every appearance of being œcumenical, but the Orthodox at large repudiated it. Therefore, they hold, it was not œcumenical and infallible—but *not* as a result of recognition being withheld: the God-guided verdict of the people was the *test* of its objective status (cf. the *communis fidelium sensus* of Catholic theologians). Even a "collective-conciliarist" like Father Bulgakov holds that a

<sup>1</sup> But, they say, the bishops as a body are infallible, whether meeting in a council or not. It must be remembered that they acknowledge only the first seven Œcumenical Councils, ending with Nicaea II in 787.

council to be œcumenical should be presided over by the Pope, and the extremest innovations among the Orthodox are exaggerations of elements found in Catholicism, *e.g.*, of the living part and "priesthood" of *all* members in the Church.

Kallinikos defines the Church as "the whole of those people who, united in the true faith of Christ and recognizing Him, though invisible, as their supreme head, remain under the visible government of shepherds instituted by Him and are sanctified by His grace which is imparted in His sacraments . . . the Kingdom of Christ on earth. . . The Church is composed of two parts, the one visible, the other invisible [*i.e.*, non-Orthodox Christians]"; the Church is governed by Christ through the higher clergy: locally, a bishop; provincially, a synod; universally, an Œcumenical Council.<sup>1</sup>

Reference has already been made to how the Orthodox regard the Supreme Pontificate, but it may be useful to quote here the words of Mgr. Photios II, Patriarch of Constantinople, to a representative of the Athens newspaper *Proia* in 1931: "We Orthodox esteem and honour the Roman Catholic Church, an ancient and a great Church, and we should never think of denying the supreme primacy of honour of her chief bishop, the Pope: in dignity he is the first of all bishops. . . A universal council in which the Roman Church took no part would be only an œcumenical synod of the Orthodox Churches." He then, of course, went on to deny the Pope's primacy of jurisdiction and his infallibility as a religious teacher.

*The Holy Trinity.* Kallinikos says: "The phrase in the creed, 'Proceeding from the Father' is quite right and does not present any void to be filled. . . Nowhere in the Bible is it said that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son. The Son sends him only. But the sending of the Holy Ghost in time is one thing, his procession or emanation from the Father before all ages is quite another."

Photios was the first to declare that the Western Church had corrupted the Faith by adding a word, *Filioque*, to the liturgical creed, affirming that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and the Son*. This word became representative of

<sup>1</sup> There are still some who hold that the whole of the non-Orthodox world is wandering in the outer darkness of heathendom, and that Catholics and the rest must become Eastern Orthodox in all respects. At the other end of the scale are the Russian "progressists" (Arseniev, Berdyaev, Bulgakov, Karsavin, Kartashov), for whom a definition of the Church seems almost impossible, though they do not believe that she is purely invisible.



the differences between the two Churches and caused endless controversy; but that the theological disagreements can be reconciled has been shown by the Councils of Bari, Lyons, and Florence, and by eminent theologians on both sides. The Catholic doctrine is explained and justified by Dr. Fortescue in "The Orthodox Eastern Church," pp. 372—384.

*Purgatory.* The Orthodox offer the Holy Sacrifice and prayer for the dead, but their theologians frequently say that they deny the doctrine of Purgatory. They certainly repudiate the word and disagree among themselves about the fact, but the teaching of many of them is substantially the same as that of the Catholic Church; they all strenuously deny any element of material fire, but then neither is this of faith for Catholics. Kallinikos defines the soul's intermediate state between death and the general resurrection as "A foretaste and pledge of its final condition after its resurrection and judgment"; but what he says on this matter appears both to assert and to deny a particular judgment at death.

*Penance.* Orthodox theologians maintain that absolution delivers the penitent, not only from the guilt of sin but also from all temporal punishment incurred by it. For this and other reasons they deny the validity and efficacy of indulgences. "Penance is an admirable institution of psychotherapy," remarks Kallinikos in passing.

*The Eucharist.* The Orthodox Church teaches the real, objective presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and many of her theologians have described the change by the word "transubstantiation," which without doubt properly expresses her doctrine. Others refuse this word, through a misunderstanding of what Catholics mean by it. The Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 used an exact Greek equivalent for the word *transubstantiatio*, *μετουσίωσις*, and in the Russian translation of the acts of that council this is rendered by the astonishing-looking neologism *transsubstantziatsiya*.

But also it is now quite definitely Orthodox teaching that this change is not effected by the words of institution *alone* in the Liturgy, but also by the subsequent invocation of the Holy Ghost (*epiklesis*): both forms of words are necessary. "From that most solemn moment [of the invocation]," says Kallinikos, "the mystery is completed."

However, it is interesting to note that the Cypriote synod against Protestantism held at Nikosia in the seventeenth cen-

tury stated that consecration is effected "by certain specified words prescribed by Christ. . . This is the orthodox faith of the Holy Eastern Church and it is upheld by the fourfold thrones of the all-holy patriarchs of the East, our brother worshippers and fellow workers."<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Kabasilas (d. 1371) was the first to affirm that the *epiklesis* is necessary for the consecration, and the Catholic teaching was still current in Russia in the seventeenth century, and later. The authoritative catechism of Philaret of Moscow (d. 1861) refers to the words of institution as "the most essential part of the Liturgy. . . . At the moment of this act the bread and wine are changed or transubstantiated into the very body and the very blood of Christ."

*The Immaculate Conception.* The Orthodox have a very great veneration for the All-Holy Mother of God and from early times her absolute sinlessness has been taught in the East. But since the Catholic Church has defined her Immaculate Conception spokesmen for the Orthodox have denied the doctrine, at any rate in those terms: Anthimos VIII of Constantinople officially repudiated it in 1895. Father Kallinikos takes the common Orthodox view that Our Lady was freed from original sin at the Annunciation.

*Canon of Scripture.* Although they continue in use for divine worship, the Orthodox Church now seems to deny the canonical status of the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> This deviation first appeared among the Russians, and is of Protestant origin.

*Marriage.* Orthodox teachers (Kallinikos, for example), refer to marriage as "an indissoluble union," but for centuries the Orthodox Churches have permitted divorce with freedom to remarry on account of adultery and other reasons, and there is a tendency to increase the number of causes for which such divorce is allowed. On the other hand, third marriages are frowned on and a fourth is forbidden. At a conference held at Karlovtsy in 1927, eleven emigrant Russian bishops, under the presidency of the late Mgr. Antony of Kiev, declared marriage to be indissoluble, except by the

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop Philip Georgui remarked on this in 1875 that: "It may be observed that the compiler of these decrees appears surreptitiously to introduce in two places opinions of the Latin Church." The other refers to the wording of the decree on the state of the dead.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Machabees, part of Esther and part of Daniel, which were admitted to the canon only after the other books.

death of one of the parties, but were not prepared to alter the long-established contrary practice of their Church.

*Sacramental Character.* Their sporadic practice of reconfirming penitent apostates and degrading clergy to a completely secular condition (*kathairesis*) suggests that the Orthodox have lost the doctrine of the indelibility of the character imprinted by the sacraments of Confirmation and Order.

*Hesychasm.* Although it does not seem to play much, if any, part in contemporary Orthodox religious thought, brief reference must be made to Hesychasm (*ἡσυχία*, quiet), as a matter of historical interest and because of a doctrinal point involved. Strictly speaking Hesychasm is simply the state of a life devoted completely to religious contemplation and any monk of the highest degree may be called a hesychast; but in the sense in which it convulsed the Orthodox Church during the fourteenth century it is a theory of mysticism and system of contemplation first practised by Athonite monks.

Ascetic training, according to its upholders, led to the beholding of the uncreated light of God, which accompanied Our Lord's transfiguration; and it was taught that the "light of Tabor" and all divine operation is distinct from the divine essence: the contemplation of this light was the highest end of man on earth. To combat this doctrine and the pantheistic developments of Hesychasm its opponents used the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics, thus aggravating anti-Latin feeling and widening the scope of the controversy. In 1351 a synod at Constantinople approved the doctrine, and another synod in 1368 canonized its chief upholder, Gregory Palamas (d. c. 1360); he was a monk of Athos and bishop of Salonika. His chief opponent was a Greek monk from Calabria called Barlaam.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the spiritual teaching and career of the Russian Sergius of Radonets (founder of the Troitsa Laura and a chief father of Russian monasticism; d. c. 1400), owed a good deal directly to the contemporary Greek hesychasts.

To the extent, then, that the decree of 1351 is binding on Orthodoxy the real distinction between God's essence and operation is one more divergence from Catholic teaching.

<sup>1</sup> Barlaam returned to Calabria in 1348 and Pope Clement VI made him Bishop of Gerace; from him Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others learned Greek. An important figure who took first one side and then the other (that of Palamas) in the controversy was Nicholas Kabasilas, whom Bossuet called "one of the most solid theologians that the Greek Church had produced for three or four centuries"; he wrote an admirable treatise on the sacraments called "Life in Jesus Christ."

It will be seen from the above that it is extremely difficult to gauge exactly the doctrinal and other disagreements between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. But time and again it is found that alleged differences between traditional Orthodoxy and Catholicism are a matter of different emphasis or way of expression, and in fact what really separates Eastern dissidents from Rome is not so much theological dogma as the events of history and a fundamental difference of mind and temperament—deep-rooted variations between Eastern and Western consciousness that cause identical doctrines to be clothed in such a way that they appear mutually and subtly opposed.

DONALD ATTWATER.

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### *The Pilgrim Friar*

WHERE the brown woods wait for the breath of Spring,  
And the frost hath silvered the grass,  
O'er broken bracken and wiry ling  
With sandalled feet I pass.

Though the last red gleam of the fleeting day  
Depart ere my journey's end,  
The lamp of a star shall guide my way,  
And the night shall be my friend.

Lord, of Thy love is my spirit fain,  
For I wait on Thy mystic hour  
When joy and pain shall be one—not twain—  
And the briar shall break in flower.

While the brown woods wait for the breath of Spring,  
Thy presence broods o'er the grass,  
And, safe in the shade of Thine outstretched wing,  
With sandalled feet I pass.

C. M. F. G. ANDERSON.

## HOUSING AND WORKING-MOTHERS

**B**EFORE the end of the War, more than twenty years ago, responsible statesmen declared that proper housing was "the most urgent of all social reforms," "the most important and the most pressing of all post-War tasks,"<sup>1</sup> and they put into the King's Speech of April, 1919, the words—"It is not too much to say that an adequate solution of the Housing Question is the foundation of all social progress." Yet for one reason or another that foundation has not yet been laid, and many millions of the population of a rich and prosperous country are still deprived of what is necessary for a decent existence—a house which is a home, fit for the bringing up of a human family. Of late years the spectre of unemployment—a ghost which cannot be "laid" so long as it is kept in the tax-payer's remembrance—has called renewed attention to the other kindred social disgrace, and it may be said that housing is in the air. The conscience of the nation has again been awakened to the shocking conditions in which so many of its members, in town and country alike, have to find shelter, and at last really strenuous efforts are being made to liquidate the terrible legacy of the past. New housing estates, new blocks of flats, new cottages are springing up all over the country, and the face of England, urban and to some extent rural, is gradually being changed. But the question arises: in all this building activity is the woman's point of view being adequately considered? Does the voice of the working mother and housewife make itself heard? For if she has to run the thousands of new houses and flats now being erected, it is on her that the well-being of the home and family depend. Years of bitter discomfort have given her a definite contribution to make; she knows her needs and is well prepared to express her views.

That good housing and nutrition enter fundamentally into the development of a happy and contented people, is no longer considered a pious truism, to be comfortably acknowledged and left at that. The country is determined to make that notional assent a reality, but the task before it is still immense and many years must elapse before it can be accomplished.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Walter Long, President of the Board of Trade in 1916.

But public opinion has finally begun to realize that the housing problem is not merely a question of shelter; it affects for good or evil many other phases of life, from birth to old age.

**BIRTH.** Why should the child, in the words of the Catechism, "made by God to know Him and love Him in this world" so often have such a sordid beginning to its journey through life? Why must the mother face the pain and danger of the great act of bringing a new soul into the world in misery and discomfort? "When I had my last baby," a working mother said to me, "the other three little ones had to be got out of their warm bed and stand in the bitter cold kitchen." And when a family is crowded into one room there cannot be even this attempt at privacy. The reports of any Housing Society are full of such, and far worse, cases. And even in the latest Housing Act, the sitting-room is counted as one of the bedrooms before the legal offence of "overcrowding" can take place. No self-respecting working mother will tolerate this arrangement, and hence at night the family is crowded into the one or two bedrooms, with disastrous effects to health and often to morality.

**CHILDHOOD.** Far more space is needed than the "legal" sufficiency. The toddler must have room to run about. Cooped up for hours in a chair, he may easily lose his health of body and mind. This is one of the serious objections to flats; the mother does not dare to leave the children to play outside where she can neither see nor hear them, and, where there are no lifts, she dreads the fatigue of taking them up long flights of stairs. Day nurseries for the young children of employed mothers; nursery schools and infant welfare centres should be established in all large housing estates.

**PARENTHOOD.** The falling of the birth-rate is causing well-founded anxiety. How can we reasonably expect larger families when no provision is made to house them? Many local authorities are concentrating on three-roomed flats and two-bedroomed cottages. This is simply starving the parental instinct. Other reasons are put forward for the decline, but inadequate housing may fairly claim a place in the front rank.

**OLD AGE.** Little is being done to ease the difficulties of old age. The old people, and with them I couple for this purpose the single woman, must exist too often in comfortless rooms, with no proper sanitary conveniences, and at exorbitant rents.

The "Eventide Homes" at the "New Homes for Old" exhibition at Olympia last September showed what may be done for them. Such homes, even when rent free, would save the cost of existence in institutions, and would be the means of affording freedom and happiness in the decline of life. In all new housing estates, provision for the old people should be included. So much for material conditions.

It needs but little thought, however, to realize that in its essence the housing problem is more of a spiritual than a material one. We all know that our spiritual health is affected by much worry, frayed nerves, and over-fatigue. Ill-temper, irritability, nagging, even mental break-down are due in great part to the overtaxed strength of the mother—overtaxed because of the housing conditions, which give the maximum of work and the minimum of satisfaction. And the frequent phenomenon of a child, dulled in mind and stunted in body, is not due to excessive births, but to cramped and faulty home conditions. Those of us who know the conditions in which many of our working women live, are appalled at the waste of time, strength and health caused by bad house-arrangements. Examples of this waste may be seen in the miners' cottages in the North, fitted with gas-coppers and cookers, entailing the expenditure of a shilling to provide the Sunday dinners when coal is at the door, almost for the asking. The housing experiment of a certain Borough Council resulted in a small block of flats in which the kitchens faced south, and the balconies to accommodate the babies north! They are now building afresh, and it may be hoped that a women's committee will be appointed to advise them. The Public Utility Societies throughout the country are doing a great pioneer work, for they can show on a small scale what can be done on a larger one, and the experience thus acquired should be invaluable in the lay-out and construction of larger housing estates. It is mainly to them we owe the insistence on beauty as a factor in home-planning—window-boxes in all town dwellings; gardens also, and, where gardens are not practicable, allotments. Even under old conditions we find in the meanest streets flower-pots on the sills of miserable basements—the one spot of colour in their dingy surroundings. On no account should they be forgotten in new housing schemes. In allotments the town-dweller can grow fresh vegetables for his family—an important preservative against malnutrition. And how much may be hoped from a garden!



"Do you ever meet a gardener who is a drunkard?" asked a speaker at a recent Church Army Housing meeting. The Church Army, on its new housing estate at Mitcham, has planted flowering trees along the roads—almonds, prunus, cherry—a spring vision of delight. Many of the courts and yards in our blocks of workmen's flats are deserts of dreary asphalt—no flowers, no trees, no seats—perhaps these latter are unnecessary with no beauty on which tired eyes can rest. Naturally the children prefer to play in the streets; they have no other playground.

As long as there exists a proletariat, land-less, property-less, home-less, the lay-out in the large housing estates provided for the workers should include community centres, day-nurseries, nursery-schools, and child welfare centres. Communal laundries, baths and kitchens, although they help to destroy the true conception of home life, make for economy. Needless to say, no such settlement is complete without adequate provision for religious worship.

To turn to more detailed considerations. There are few working people who would not prefer a cottage to a flat, but we are thinking of immediate possibilities and needs. In crowded areas the erection of blocks of flats may be the only practical scheme for housing. Hence it is essential that they should be made as fit for decent habitation as is possible. It is as cheap (and, having human welfare in mind, much cheaper), to build good flats as bad.

Flats should be arranged to allow for the maximum amount of air and sunshine. The famous workers' flats of sunny Vienna cannot be taken as models for buildings in our climate, though much may be learnt from their endeavour to lighten the inconveniences of flat-life. Lifts, where flats are over four stories in height, are a real necessity, not a luxury. Is it right for a pregnant mother, or for the child just able to walk, to have to climb long flights of stairs, under penalty of being shut off from healthful exercise and change of air? And there should also be some dry and sheltered space to house perambulators. Moreover, much more use should be made of sound-proofing since the flat-household may have neighbours, not only on either side, but also above and below, and be worried by racket night and day to the detriment of health.

The women who live in the new housing estates could tell the authorities much about defective planning—resulting in

poor lavatory accommodation, bad drainage, lack of means of rubbish-disposal, faulty ventilation and scanty heating. And they would be eloquent on interior planning and equipment. Why should the larder be too small for anything to be stored? Why should it face south and hasten the deterioration of food? Labour-saving should be studied in kitchen arrangements. The washing machine should be near the sink, and the wringer should stand next to it. The cooker should be on the same side as the sink. Constant hot water should be on tap for sink, copper and bath. Where gas is used, an Ascot heater is an economy. A bathroom is a necessity. A central hot-water supply is perhaps the best means of securing health through cleanliness. Some enlightened authorities supply their tenants with electricity for all purposes at a reasonable weekly charge.

The ideal home will have plenty of recessed cupboards which can be included in the planning. Walls should be painted and washable. In many slum houses the removal of wall-paper discloses colonies of vermin, which also cluster behind picture-frames, so that the only way of keeping clothes free at night is to hang them outside the window in bags. Such homely yet practical hints might, if they had been sought for from the experienced, have vastly improved the equipment of the new housing estates.

Yet, defective though they be, one has only to turn to the old houses "reconditioned" in which, despite all efforts at slum-clearance, large numbers of the more poorly paid workers must still live, to realize the full extent of the housing problem. A recent investigation into the circumstances of twenty-two families living in large converted houses in a slum district of London, elicited the following facts. In sixteen cases, the food was kept in the living room, which was also the bedroom and kitchen. In nine out of twenty-two cases the landlord provided no food safe; the food was kept in a warm cupboard. In six of the twenty-two cases there was no sink in the tenement, and the only tap in the house was in the basement. These inhuman conditions, which can be paralleled in every slum-district, are still tolerated by law.

From what has been said it must now be evident that the woman, the "house-mother," should have more voice in the planning and equipment of the home in which she must needs live, than has hitherto been the case. It is to voice her claims and supply her needs that a "Women's Advisory Housing

Council" has been formed recently as a women's section of the Housing Centre. This Council was, in its inception, a Catholic venture—a Housing Committee of the Catholic Social Guild. It met, alas! with little encouragement and no success, but its promoters did not lose heart. After two years of work they have transformed it into the above-mentioned Advisory Housing Council, definitely encouraged by the Ministry of Health, with the three women members of the Ministry's Central Housing Committee as its Vice-Presidents. It is now interdenominational and non-party, with representatives from Conservative, Liberal and Labour associations, as well as from the greater number of nationally-organized Societies, the Catholic Social Guild as also the Catholic Women's League, among them. It began its activities by organizing a women's Housing Week at the Housing Centre, 13 Suffolk Street, S.W.1, which was opened on June 1st by the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P. Although it is no longer a Catholic Society, the original promoters remain officers. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Hon. Secretary are Catholics.

It is the statutory duty of Local Authorities to provide better housing for those who need it. They have wide powers and it is our aim to see that they are used. One of our objects is to promote the appointment of women, qualified by knowledge and experience, to the Housing Committees of Local Authorities, and it is hoped that qualified Catholic women may come forward.

It may be objected that the improvements outlined in this paper would involve such an increase of the rates as would ensure their rejection, unless offset by charging high rents, which again would be quite outside the means of the poorly-paid wage-earner, or would lead to lessening what is spent on food, an even greater necessity. There are possible solutions—differential rents, a larger Government subsidy, family allowances. But we believe that, by careful planning and elimination of wasteful methods, the reforms could be carried out with little additional cost. The newly-opened Kensal House model flats, set up by the Gas, Light and Coke Company, give its tenants the amenities for which the Council asks, and at fairly moderate rents fixed to cover the costs, including the return on capital borrowed. A flat with three bedrooms costs 11s. 6d. a week, including rates, and the estate has a nursery-school, playground, clubs for tenants,

gardens, allotments, bicycle and pram sheds, besides providing well-planned and comfortable homes. It is a fine contribution to the housing problem, due, in a great measure, to the woman consultant, Miss Elizabeth Denby.

Again, must we not work for an ideal? If our standard is a high one, we are more likely to obtain something near it, and greater housing costs will surely be balanced by savings on remedial expenditure—mental hospitals, infirmaries, old-age institutions, not to say, prisons. And we must also add to the balance the greater health and happiness of the class on whom ultimately the welfare of the State rests. Do we, as Catholics, sufficiently realize the profoundly spiritual problems involved in this reform—the dignity of parenthood, the bringing-up of children in moral decency and religious faith, the abolition of some of the causes of birth-prevention and divorce, all aspects of normal family life—are affected by the presence or the absence of home-shelter.

Wretched housing conditions contribute nothing but the tendency to a lower standard of morality, and a corresponding weakness in faith and love of God. Elevate homes and surroundings, and you will elevate minds and hearts to a greater knowledge and a greater love of our common Father and Friend.

These words are quoted from an appeal by the Prior of the great Dominican centre at Haverstock Hill in North London, for the St. Pancras House Improvement Society, a society doing magnificent housing work in a poor, densely-crowded neighbourhood, and with a large population of Catholic families. The Catholic duty in regard to the housing problem could scarcely be summed up more clearly.

S. LIVEING.

## FROM EMPIRE TO COMMONWEALTH

**A**T first sight it seems an odd, not to say an unjust, thing that, of the many races occupying the earth's surface, comparatively few retain their original territory and independence. But Imperialism—the system by which one strong people holds other nations in subjection for its own interests—made an early appearance in human history: in fact, our very earliest records reveal the existence of great military Empires—Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian—dominating minor States, of all of which the Empire of Rome became ultimately the residuary legatee. The later Empire of Charlemagne, gradually fading into an institution which was “neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire,” made room for the growth of nationalism in Europe, but the imperial idea revived as the rival nations became strong, and the discovery of the New World gave it an immense impetus. In less than four centuries the whole of the Western Hemisphere, North and South, was occupied by different European States, which, however, have long lost political control of their emigrants. But it still remains true that every one of its nineteen independent States remains under rulers of European descent. There is no trace left of the native Governments of four centuries ago.

Almost as complete and much more recent has been the European expropriation of the continent of Africa. Apart from the Mediterranean seaboard from Egypt to Morocco, which, of course, came under the sway of Rome, and the Cape of Good Hope, seized by the Dutch in 1652 and by the British in 1814, nine-tenths of Africa was owned by its native inhabitants, when about fifty years ago the “Scramble for Africa” began which ended last year with Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. Seven European nations, Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and Spain did the scrambling: Germany lost her share in the Great War, so that the land is held and governed by six European States,<sup>1</sup> only three of which are called empires, Britain, France and Italy, although the vast possessions of Belgium and Portugal might entitle them to the same proud name.

<sup>1</sup> Liberia, the new Republic on the West Coast, originated as a home for freed American slaves, and is still to some extent under American tutelage.

When we turn to the fourth and largest of the continents, Asia, we find that Europe, partly through the commercial urge, partly in defence against Tartar and Moslem invasion, has managed, in the course of time, to acquire a considerable share of its vast territory. When the Siberian Mongols were finally defeated, Russia took the whole of the North right across to the Pacific, whilst in the South, British, French, Dutch and Portuguese long contended for the possession of India, Malaya and the huge islands to the north of Australia. As a result India ranks as a British Dominion, and the Straits Settlements, etc., are Colonies or Protectorates, France retains Indo-China, Holland the great islands of Java and Sumatra, about fifty-eight times the size of the mother-country, the most of Borneo and Celebes, whilst Portugal has to be content with bits of Timor and New Guinea. Japan, with more excuse being herself Asiatic, has of quite recent years become Imperialist and taken possession of Formosa, Korea and the Chinese Province of Manchukuo. In fact, China herself, apart from little entities like Tibet and Afghanistan, ranks with Japan as the only aboriginal Asiatic State which remains unseized by "expanding Europe."

It is hardly necessary to point out that, since great continents could not retain their independence, the multitudinous islands of Polynesia in the Pacific had to submit to become Protectorates of the great acquisitive Powers, each of which was anxious to protect the natives from the protection of their rivals. The island-continent of Australia was so sparsely populated and so remote that its gradual occupation by the British is practically the only example of "acquisition by settlement" in the Empire's history.<sup>1</sup> New Zealand, on the other hand, inhabited by a race of stalwart warriors, had to be taken by force.

This brief glance at the progress of the idea of Imperialism during the last few centuries is meant as a background to the singular spectacle of one great Empire gradually but systematically de-imperializing itself. The Great War, as we know, was a great empire-destroyer. Austria, Turkey, Russia, Germany, lost their previous imperial status as a result of it. France and Great Britain retained theirs, and Italy has

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bryce has rather superficially contrasted the British Empire, founded by settlement, with the Roman, spread by conquest. All real empires are instinctively predatory and aggressive. Newman, indeed ("Sermons on Subjects of the Day," XVI), claims that "conquest is almost of the essence of an empire, and when it ceases to conquer it ceases to be."

since assumed the role. But the British Empire,<sup>1</sup> which dates formally from the acquisition of Newfoundland in 1583, has shed much of its imperial character in the course of evolution. We may grant with Bryce that it was not founded on force, although force has frequently been employed to maintain and extend it. It was Mammon, not Mars—the desire of commercial advantage rather than of political domination—that led the British merchant into so many parts of the globe, and the Flag did not disdain to follow Trade. The French Empire follows the Roman model: it is called “*La France d’Outre Mer*,” and tributary races are encouraged to consider themselves French. As a consequence, outside the range of mere Protectorates, still under their native chiefs, none of the French Colonial possessions has become autonomous: on the contrary, the three northern provinces of Algeria have been absorbed as Departments into France proper, with representation in both Senate and Chamber.

It follows, also, that Great Britain is not represented in the League of Nations merely as an Empire but is accompanied by six other self-governing “members of the British Commonwealth”: an anomaly which has caused foreigners to regard the impartiality of the League with some suspicion, which might reasonably have grown, had Newfoundland, the seventh Dominion, also been granted membership of the League.

We come, then, to what I have called the voluntary de-imperializing of the British Empire. The process had begun, though against the will of the Mother Country, by the secession of the American Colonies in 1776, a severe lesson which taught her that settlements of her own citizens could not be treated as if they were “natives” and exploited for her benefit. The lesson was taken to heart and no further forcible interference with the fiscal relations of the Dominions is recorded, though for some time she tried to insist that the foreign trade of the Colonies should be carried in British ships. But during the past century little effort has been made to prevent Canada, Australia, the Cape, and New Zealand from looking after their own industrial development in their own way, raising loans on their own account and erecting tariffs when it suited

<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII who, in pursuit of his ambitions so often said things that weren’t so, uttered one of them when, in the Preamble to his Statute of Appeals (1534: 24 Henry VIII, c. 21) whereby the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome was repudiated, he asserted on the strength of “divers sundry old authentic Histories and Chronicles” that England, spiritual and temporal, was a self-contained empire!



them against British goods. Official recognition of the practical independence of these young nations, after the Boer War had shown the strength of the sentimental tie that bound them to the homeland, was not long delayed, and its growth may be traced in the various "Colonial Conferences."

These had been meeting in London every five years or so, since the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887. In 1907 they took on greater importance, their name was changed into "The Imperial Conference" and the British Prime Minister became *ex officio* President. Since, 1911, and especially during the Great War, Conferences on all sorts of matters of common interest—trade, shipping, emigration, defence—were frequently held, and the Dominions were represented in their own right at the Versailles Peace Conference. India also had separate representation there and, by the Treaty of 1921, the Irish Free State came into being, and took part in the Imperial Conference of 1923 as a "Dominion." This newcomer seems destined to accelerate the process of turning an Empire into a Commonwealth.

Previous to the Irish Treaty (1921) the British Empire linked together, as homogeneous constituent elements, various offshoots of the Mother Country in various degrees of development. That some had grown to maturity and set up house for themselves did not disturb this family relationship. But Ireland was hardly a British settlement. In spite of the Norman invasion, the Anglo-Irish Pale, frequent subsequent "plantings" and centuries of political subjection, Ireland claims always to have kept her distinct nationhood and, although Irishmen took their share in developing various British dependencies, those that remained at home never as a whole became British. So what happened in 1921 was not that Ireland was granted "Dominion status" or that a modified independence was conferred on her as a concession from Great Britain, but that the right of self-government, inherent in her nationhood and exercised in earlier ages, was at last restored and formally recognized. Her independence is natural, not statutory. This is the view her rulers have consistently taken, and it explains not a little that is apt to be misunderstood in their later attitude towards the Commonwealth. All the other members are Colonies grown up into national status: she has herself always been a colonizing nation and the mother of far-flung peoples. Yet just because her children are scattered through the Dominions and the home-country it must always be to

her advantage to maintain the position which the first Article of her present Constitution describes as—"a co-equal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." If unnaturally-partitioned Ireland thus benefits by belonging to this free and powerful association, much more will united Ireland—that consummation which, both material and spiritual motives combine to urge—feel the value of such connexion which, without sacrificing a jot of genuine independence and the completest freedom for developing a national culture, provides the security necessary for progress and prosperity.

By the original Treaty the relations already existing between Canada and the Imperial Parliament and Government were declared to be the standard for the Free State also, but provision was made by Article 50 of its Constitution for subsequent amendments. Under Mr. de Valera considerable changes have been made in this way, all in the direction of greater independence, such as the removal of the Parliamentary Oath, the abolition of the Senate, the prohibition of appeals to the Judicial Commission of the British Privy Council, and finally the establishment of a President elected by the Dail, instead of a Governor-General representing the King. Accordingly, one member of the Commonwealth has gone far beyond the rest in emphasizing national independence, and the absence of the Free State from the Coronation celebrations, and from the subsequent Imperial Conference which closed on June 15th strongly stressed this fact.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the term Empire, connoting historically and in loose popular thought a strong central Power holding in subjection and exacting tribute from a number of weaker and less organized States, is no longer applicable, as it once was, to the constitution of the Imperial Conference. Only the impossibility of finding an epithet corresponding to Commonwealth as Imperial does to Empire would seem to justify its retention.

The seal on the national evolution of the Dominions was set by the enactment of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 which removed restrictions on their Parliaments from passing laws of extra-territorial validity or laws out of harmony with British legislation. But already in the Imperial Conference of 1926 they had declared themselves "autonomous com-

<sup>1</sup> It was, however, declared that this abstention of the Free State from paying homage to the Monarch whom yet it recognizes as its representative in all foreign affairs, and from taking part in the Imperial Conference wherein its commercial interests are involved, was in the nature of a protest against Partition, as a standing grievance which prevents peace and good will within the Commonwealth.

munities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." If "in no way subordinate . . . in any aspect of . . . external affairs," then each is clearly at liberty to have its own foreign policy: if "freely associated," then they are free to break the association. No wonder foreign observers argue: "If these Dominions are separate members of the League of Nations, then they must be really independent States: but, being mutually independent, how then can they claim to form one political entity?" The answer to the dilemma is that they have proved their independence by taking their own line from time to time in foreign affairs. One and all refused to take arms against the resurgent Turk in 1922, and Canada disclaimed adhesion to the Lausanne Treaty in 1923 on the grounds that it was not submitted for her separate approval. As for being politically united, that union is voluntary, not organic. The understanding, several times explicitly avowed by British Ministers, that they are at liberty to secede, at least in the sense that force would not be used to prevent their secession, is evidence enough that their association is free.

We have said nothing hitherto of that strange member of the British Commonwealth—the Empire of India—partly because its status is not yet definitely established. Somehow or other, it originally entered the League of Nations on the same footing as the Dominions although it was only after the War that the policy of British legislation was to render India "fit to be freely associated [with the other Dominions] as a member of the British Commonwealth." The problem is exceedingly complicated. Here we have crowded together in this comparatively small Asian peninsula as many human beings as exist in the whole Western Hemisphere with Africa thrown in, composed of many races and religions, two-fifths of it under native Princes some 700 in number, and three-fifths living under primitive patriarchal conditions in about 500,000 self-contained villages. Commission after Commission has laboured at the problem of devising some form of unified government for this conglomeration till finally, in 1935, the Government of India Act set up an All-India Federation. This came into operation on April 1st of this year, but the elections, held just before, put in power the All-India Congress Party which repudiates the new Constitution

and wants to do away with the British connexion altogether. So the puzzle about India's definite place in the Commonwealth still remains, with the customary North-east Frontier war to accentuate it.

Leaving India aside, it would seem that amongst the bonds that keep the Dominions together, in spite of the growth of a vivid national consciousness, the strongest by far is self-interest. There are, of course, other more spiritual links—a common historical tradition and language, the same political instincts, a love for the Mother Country, loyalty to the Crown as the symbol of relationship—but these are less widespread and less stable: they did not serve to keep the American colonies in the fold, nor do they now greatly affect the Dutch in South Africa, the French in Canada or the Irish everywhere. But the fact that, in a world still governed by force, "united they stand, divided they fall" is inducement enough to preserve the strength of their combination. The Dominions maintain land and air forces for the protection of their immediate area, and of late, several have begun to contribute a percentage of naval strength for the common defence. None of them, however, could as yet stand alone; nor indeed could the Mother Country preserve her status as a Great Power without the certainty of their loyal support. The Imperial Conference is the outcome of the conviction that, self-governing and self-supporting as the Nation-members of the Commonwealth are, they cannot be self-protecting except in combination.

The latest of these great meetings, which lasted from May 14th to June 15th, has been in many ways the most important. Not that its function has ever been to formulate policy, but rather to bring overseas delegates together and to let them see from nearby the European imbroglio in which the home country has to live and shape her conduct. One result of that contact has been the conviction that the League of Nations will fare better if separated from the Peace Treaties and if supplemented by regional agreements. A general recognition "that in the last resort the prosperity of the countries of the Commonwealth depends on that of the world as a whole and that a healthy growth of international trade . . . is an essential step to political appeasement," gives welcome assurance that the project, sometimes advocated, of a self-contained and exclusive combination against the world does not find favour. Selfishness, even on an Empire scale, is the surest way to maintain world unrest.

The phrase—"autonomous communities *within* the British Empire"—suggests that there are other communities which are not autonomous. There are indeed, and their existence explains why the time is not yet ripe to discard the word empire altogether, although nearly all its evil connotation has gone. A glance at a large-scale Colonial map will disclose, apart from the Commonwealth, about fifty component parts of the Empire; some mere coaling- or cable-stations, some naval bases, strung along the chief trade-routes; others, Crown Colonies with local legislatures and Governors appointed by Great Britain; others, Protectorates controlled as to foreign policy by the Crown; others, the regions belonging to the system of Mandates. The process of evolution is still going on in some quarters. It is not likely that countries like British Guiana, Jamaica, British Honduras, Sierra Leone, will ever need a more independent and responsible form of government than they have: many territories without white settlers, especially in West Africa, are administered by indirect rule, *i.e.*, through native chiefs; on the other hand, Southern Rhodesia is already of quasi-Dominion status, and may ultimately, when its white population has grown, amalgamate with Northern Rhodesia to form a Dominion proper. The two cover an area ten times that of England, with less than 2,000,000 white settlers.

It is the after-War idea of Colonial Trusteeship, now safely embodied in various Mandates that, together with the extension of self-government, will serve to purge the conception of Empire from its old association with tyranny and wrong. This country, somewhat to its political disadvantage, has finally recognized the complete autonomy of Egypt, but elsewhere in Africa—in the old-established "Cape Colony" and in the post-War Protectorate of Kenya—unjust discrimination against the "native" is practised or projected. It is here that the spirit which started the Empire on its course, the desire of riches, seems to be still unduly prevalent. If that Empire is to conclude its evolution from force into freedom, it must not ignore primary human rights anywhere. Since the War, we have done with the school of "patriotism" which had Kipling as its prophet, and which expressed its ideal in the lines—

Wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set;  
God who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet.

Our prayer should rather be for a deeper consciousness of justice and charity.

JOSEPH KEATING.

## THE MIND OF ST. THOMAS MORE<sup>1</sup>

**M**R. ALGERNON CECIL has enriched contemporary literature with a very notable book. The fact that the story of the great Chancellor and Martyr has of recent years inspired many able pens does not render this new appreciation in any sense superfluous. As Mr. Cecil himself says in his Preface: "In the case of a nature so finely integrated as More's and so little patient of any eclectic treatment, there seems room for something further in the way of detailed analysis, commentary and criticism of his works, and perhaps, too, for some closer interweaving of his inner with his outer life, if his figure is to stand out in its full distinction upon the large tapestry of his time." Probably no writer could be found so well qualified for such a task as Mr. Cecil. The wide range of his historical interests, his previous experience in studying the deeper issues of political movements, his innate sobriety of judgment and aversion from precipitate conclusions, together with a delicate literary sense which guides him unerringly to use the *mot juste*, have all had their share in producing a very perfect piece of work. We can only hope that in an age which, like More's own, is a turning-point of history, the example and lessons of the martyr's prescience, here so luminously set out, may meet with the attention they deserve. In the first half of the sixteenth century a struggle, which was to shake the civilized world to its foundations, had arisen between the Catholic Church and schism. In the first half of the twentieth century a conflict, even more momentous, has declared itself between the Faith of Christ and godlessness. We need to be reminded by such an example as this study affords, to look beneath the surface of things, to discern the inevitable issue of religiously subversive principles, and to be on our guard against compromises which in the end can result only in disaster if not in utter ruin.

What Mr. Cecil's book before all else brings home to the reader is that while More stood abreast or in advance of the highest intelligences of his age, not only in matters of thought

<sup>1</sup> "A Portrait of Thomas More; Scholar, Statesman, Saint." By Algernon Cecil, author of "Metternich." London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1937.

"A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation." By St. Thomas More. Edited by Mgr. P. Hallett. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1937.

but also in matters of action, his life in its every aspect was moulded and guided by the things of the spirit. He was a statesman, a philosopher, a jurist, a theologian, but withal sufficiently in touch with homely realities to be as genial a humorist, as he was, like his friend Erasmus, an accomplished scholar. But at the back of all this we find in his writings, from the halting verses of the earliest period to the "Dialogue of Comfort" written when the shadow of Tower Hill had already fallen upon him, that his innermost thought, even when he had little time to think, was continually directed Godward. As is very truly pointed out by Mgr. Hallett in his recent edition of the work just named—

The "Dialogue" is, excepting his brief epitaph, the nearest approach to an autobiography that the Saint ever wrote. It elaborates the sentiments and principles that guided him through life and steeled him to face martyrdom. We find in it innumerable references to what we know were his own practices, and we may justly suspect that much else is also personal. Thus he speaks of the religious life, for which he ever seems to have hankered, of the Carthusians with whom he lived four years, of the Bridgettines whose house of Syon he used to visit to see his friend, Blessed Richard Reynolds, of the daughters of St. Francis, to whose Order he himself was so keenly attracted. Here, too, he refers to the new building, with an oratory, which he erected in his grounds, and gives a specimen of his prayer there before the crucifix. Here do we find again and again his hatred of heresy, and of religious innovation, his contentment with the ancient accustomed ways, and his reverence for "the old holy fathers and doctors." Here, too, in his kindness, not only towards his children, but also towards his parents, and his orthodox economic teaching in opposition to the community of goods which, as a *jeu d'esprit*, he had attributed to the Utopians. Here again we have his appreciation of wit and its religious utility, his "looking sadly when he meant merrily," and even, perhaps we may conclude, his custom in later years of taking an after-dinner nap.

Both Mr. Cecil and Mgr. Hallett rightly lay stress upon More's four years in the Charterhouse, though one may feel a certain doubt whether Cresacre, his great-grandson, had



adequate evidence for the statement that he "frequented daily their spiritual exercises."<sup>1</sup> Still, it is a striking thing that a young man of twenty-three should have favoured such an atmosphere, and it is not less remarkable that at the beginning of life his attention should have centred, as an heroic ideal, not upon any paragon of chivalry or saintly ecclesiastic, but upon the layman Pico della Mirandola, the admired scholar and Savonarola's friend, who "every day at certain hours gave himself to prayer," and in Holy Week, as More further tells us, "during those days which represent unto us the passion and death that Christ suffered for our sake, beat and scourged his flesh in the remembrance of that great benefit and for cleansing of his old offences."

Viewed in the mirror of such lives as those of della Mirandola, Dean Colet, More and even Erasmus, the author of this book has found that there is much to be said for Humanism. Pico's character and work, he tells us, are at least well fitted to correct the impression of some moral depravity essentially inherent in the Italian Renaissance. Mr. Cecil himself has "long been satisfied, not only that in the crisis of the Reformation More and Erasmus were right and Luther and Calvin mistaken, but that no half-way houses between their respective positions, such as men have tried to inhabit both in their age and subsequently, are on any large view of history better than lodgings for the night." Nevertheless, he adds: "I am too closely in sympathy with what I conceive to be the essence of Humanism and too distrustful of conclusions that do not postulate much travail of mind and spirit to have any desire to engage in what goes by the much-abused name of propaganda. . . . My object is not to plead a case, but to put a point of view."

This declaration, however, as will be readily understood, does not prevent the author from supplementing his fourth chapter entitled "The Carthusians" by an appendix, in which he vindicates the character of the young scholar from the insinuations, which have been based upon a sentence in one of Erasmus's letters. Erasmus wrote that More "*cum aetas ferret non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus*," i.e., that "when he was of an age for such affairs, he did not hold aloof from dalliance with young women." But from the words which

<sup>1</sup> Roper's words are "he gave himself to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about four years." But Roper, as Professor Chambers has shown, is not always accurate, and Cresacre and the rest seem to have had no other evidence than Roper's statement.

follow in the letter, the passage is certainly patient of an innocent interpretation. As Mr. Cecil points out, Erasmus "is evidently attempting to depict, not only the most delicious human being he ever met, but the rare example of a Christian living in the world," and it would be quite inconsistent with his purpose to suppose in him such frailty as has been suggested. Moreover, the reflections which More afterwards had occasion to make upon the character of his accuser, Rich, would have had little force if he himself had been open to a similar reproach.

Again, in chapter 15, Mr. Cecil has presented a detailed and effective reply to the allegations of cruelty and persecution on the part of the Lord Chancellor when dealing with those who were suspected of heretical opinions. He sets about the task by reminding us of the criticisms which thirty years ago depicted our Martyr as a sort of inquisitor. "Time was," he says, "when this appeared as the blot upon his 'scutcheon.'" Professor Pollard maintained that "conscience made Sir Thomas More persecute and glory in the persecution of heretics," and Bishop Creighton "instances More as a typical example of what he calls pseudo-liberalism and condemns him as obscurantist and confused." Mr. Cecil meets these charges not only by dealing with the evidence of facts, but by an appeal to those deeper principles which, as experience has demonstrated, are fundamental in the organization of all social life if it is to have any measure of stability. Referring to the two critics just cited, he tells us :

Both men were writing during that golden hour of Liberalism of which our eyes have seen the sands run quickly out—the hour when it seemed to many safe to assume that mere freedom of thought and liberty of expression were the last word in the wisdom that was to solve all political problems and resolve all religious mysteries. But in fact such anticipations show no great understanding either of the fallen nature of man or of the contingent nature of Liberal doctrine. No damaging contrast, such as Creighton attempts to set up between the laws of Utopia as described by Hythloday and the laws of England as administered by More, can be admitted; not merely because Hythloday is not More, but because there is probably no judge upon the English Bench who does not enforce rules of law in conflict with his private convictions. Not judges alone would, how-

ever, if it were valid, fall under Creighton's type of condemnation. Peace is a humane ideal; yet not all warriors can be set down as wicked. The starvation of women and children is peculiarly hateful, yet not all blockades can be condemned utterly. And so freedom of thought may be a civic ideal, and yet not all intolerance wrong.

This is surely very just, but even more convincing are the reflections which follow:

Liberty of thought is good, but opinion subversive of the State is evil, and, if for one reason or another, prejudice or ignorance is getting so much the better of truth that the safety of the commonwealth is imperilled, freedom has to give way to order. Where the danger-point precisely lies, and where precisely it has at any time been reached, are matters admitting of no theoretical treatment.<sup>1</sup>

And Mr. Cecil drives his argument home with an appeal to present-day conditions.

If [he says] there is one thing more than another that this century has conclusively demonstrated it is that persecution is no exclusive product of religious orthodoxy. The fall of kings and the relegation of priests to spiritual functions have been coincident with much accentuated intolerance; and Humanity is plainly no longer in any position to lay its inhumanities at the door of the Church, or critics to cite the famous tag from Lucretius<sup>2</sup> and declare that to such evils does Religion persuade. Persecution has prospered and prospered exceedingly in our century of secular and scientific illumination. It was the Third Republic in France which opened the grim ball with the expulsion of the Religious Orders. It was Bolshevik Russia that followed with such a masque of murder as neither the France of the Revolution nor the France of St. Bartholomew can excel. It was Germany, liberated and socialized, that sold herself to the Nazis and waltzed in turn with all the devils of irreligious intolerance, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Christian. And, as I write, we have the spectacle of Spain. Through half Europe, though in different degrees, with different emphasis and from different motives, the State has suppressed its critics, or at least, allowed them to be suppressed—some-

<sup>1</sup> "A Portrait of Thomas More," pp. 308—309.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

times with the stick, sometimes with castor oil, sometimes with imprisonment, sometimes with arson, and sometimes with death. To such evils, it would appear, can Liberalism, Atheism, Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Neo-Paganism persuade! And the historian must be careful not to lay at the door of Medievalism a reproach that belongs to mankind.<sup>1</sup>

It is with an equally broad and discerning outlook that Mr. Cecil tackles that point of doctrine in defence of which St. Thomas More laid down his life. This is a matter, he says, "of which no Englishman can write without being conscious that he is touching upon perhaps the most enduringly controversial question in English or even in universal history." The reader who studies the "Portrait" here presented will gain confidence in his guide as he realizes that the counsel for the defence is not necessarily a special pleader. Already in the chapter entitled "Dusty Answer" Mr. Cecil had expressed his distaste for the tone of the "Responsio ad Lutherum" in which More, probably under pressure from his royal master, had taken up the cudgels in defence of the King's book. He declares his agreement with Dr. Brewer, the sympathetic editor of the "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII," who recorded his pain and surprise that "a nature so pure and gentle, so adverse to coarse abuse" should soil itself with "the vulgar and offensive raillery" we find in the "Responsio." There is something to be said in mitigation, and while making that point clear, Mr. Cecil has not failed also to remind us that More had striven at an earlier time to moderate the King's exuberance in magnifying the temporal authority of the Holy See. As we learn from Roper, More averred that when in the King's book he found "the Pope's authority highly advanced and with strong arguments mightily defended" he had said unto His Grace: "I must put Your Highness in remembrance of one thing and that is this. The Pope, as Your Grace knoweth, is a prince as you are, and in league with all other Christian princes. It may hereafter so fall out that Your Grace and he may vary upon some points of the league, whereupon may grow breach of amity and war between you both; I think it best therefore that that place be amended and his authority more tenderly touched." But to this, according to the same authority, Henry replied: "Nay; that it shall not. We are so much

<sup>1</sup> "A Portrait of Thomas More," p. 313.

bounden unto the see of Rome that we cannot do too much honour unto it." <sup>1</sup>

That More should have laid down his life in defence of Papal prerogative is surely the more worthy of admiration when we reflect that his days had been passed under the shadow of grievous scandals. He was a boy of six when Innocent VIII, the father of illegitimate children, had been raised to the pontificate. *Nemo tam Pater* served as the point of a ribald lampoon affixed to the statue of Pasquino, a jest which was most unfortunately not destitute of foundation in fact. So again the young scholar who was so devoted to the memory of Pico della Mirandola cannot have failed to know something of Savonarola, of Alexander VI, and of all that led up to Savonarola's death. If Pius III and Adrian VI set a better example as Vicars of Christ, their reigns were very brief, and there was nothing very inspiring about the careers of the warrior Pope Julius II or of the weak and much-tormented Clement VII. Moreover, though Mr. Cecil seems (p. 55) to have a better opinion of Leo X, he quotes the words attributed to him "let us enjoy the Papacy since God has given it to us," and does not hesitate to say that "the Mainz indulgence, as published, was a scandal"; adding that "it was made no better by the circumstance that, in spite of an official declaration allocating the proceeds to the building of St. Peter's the young Archbishop of Mainz, already a double-dyed pluralist, was taking half-profits from the transaction." Can we be surprised that More began, as he tells us, by supposing the primacy of the Pope to be a matter of ecclesiastical order, and not of divine institution? He thought it out later, but even so he felt himself under no necessity to pronounce upon the then much-contested question whether the Pope was above the Council or the Council above the Pope. Very soundly, as it seems to me, Mr. Cecil sums up the Martyr's attitude by saying:

He stuck, in fact, like the wise combatant that he was, to the essential point in peril, holding out, in accordance with Catholic tradition, for the preservation of St. Peter's Chair in its accustomed place in the fabric of the Church. To remove it must, as he saw, be to throw the whole design into so great confusion that neither unity of doctrine nor worship would remain to Christendom. And who will now contend with any show of plausibility that he was wrong?"

<sup>1</sup> "A Portrait of Thomas More," p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

One may fancy that Mr. Cecil has occupied himself with these contested matters a little reluctantly; but they had to be discussed and he has dealt with them most thoughtfully and well. He is more at home when dealing with More's absorption in the eternal verities, in setting out his attitude to Humanism, in describing the humorous large-mindedness of his relations with wife and children, in dissecting the personal characteristics of Henry VIII and Luther, or in discussing the sociological problems raised in the Utopia. I have been pillaging from Mr. Cecil's pages with both hands, but I feel that I have after all left untouched the greater part of what was most happily worded and best worth remembering in a work which bears evidence in its every chapter that it must have cost its conscientious author an infinity of pains.

HERBERT THURSTON.

## "THE MONTH" FORWARDING SCHEME

We are very grateful to all who have recently undertaken to send their MONTH to a missionary, but we are specially anxious to get more benefactors to take the place of those who have died during the year. No less than eleven missionaries in very distant parts have lately been deprived of a direct subscription for THE MONTH through this cause, and we feel that when this fact is known other generous readers will come forward to make good this sad loss.

**FOREIGN STAMPS.** The gifts of these have recently fallen off very much, and we would very earnestly ask all who possibly can to collect and send these regularly. **CORONATION STAMPS** are particularly in demand. With a good supply of these, the means of providing MONTHS for many missionaries, who have been on the waiting list for so long, would soon be acquired.

Readers who are willing to forward their "Month" to a missionary or to provide an annual subscription (14s.) for one to be sent direct to the more distant outposts are asked to communicate with The Hon. Secretary, "The Month" Forwarding Scheme, 31 Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.1. Readers *must* enclose a stamped addressed envelope, and all names and addresses, whether of missionaries applying for "The Month," or readers providing it, *should be printed in capitals*. Missionaries should notify the Secretary if their "Months" do not arrive regularly, and both priests and forwarders should send us any changes in address at once. (Subscription from U.S.A., \$3.50.)

**FOREIGN STAMPS**, particularly from British Colonies, are collected by the Secretary and sold for the work of the Forwarding Scheme. These should be cut off leaving roughly  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. margin. If edges or backs are damaged they are useless.

# MISCELLANEA

## I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

### NEW HOPE FOR INDUSTRY.

#### A Nova Scotia Experiment.

THE hopes of many who foresee the collapse of modern Capitalism and realize that the alternative of Communism would be a change for the worse, are turning to the system of Co-operation, hitherto untried on a large scale either in politics or economics. A survey of what has been termed the greatest social and economic experiment of the past two centuries in Canada, the workers' "Co-operative Democracy," in Eastern Nova Scotia, is worth the serious study of economists. The men concerned comprise some 150,000 fishermen, miners, steel-workers and farmers, and the movement is being sponsored by the St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. After six years or so it has become a reality. To-day, the members of seventy-three Credit-unions, operating under the system, control banks, stores and all kinds of co-operatives. In the mining centre, Glace Bay, Cape Breton, where there are one thousand coal miners, eight hundred of them are members of Credit-unions. In the whole of Eastern Nova Scotia it is estimated that the members of the various Credit-unions will control close on one million dollars within the next five years.

The movement was started in 1930 and in its short life has worked wonders, for it is a living thing, a vitalized organism; its thews and sinews are the people themselves, its mind is their own mentality, guided by the principles of co-operative civilization. To understand the movement properly and to realize its debt to a small college, one must go back beyond 1930, the date of its definite inception as a department of the University at Antigonish. As a matter of fact, long before that, the interests of St. Francis Xavier College extended beyond inter-mural affairs, and aimed constantly at improving the economic and cultural life of the constituency it serves. For over thirty years agriculturists on the staff have been co-operating with Governmental agencies in bringing technical knowledge to the people. Prominent among these were Dr. Hugh MacPherson, who was responsible for the success of several co-operative enterprises, and Dr. J. J. Tompkins, whose work on the Peoples' School in 1921 and subsequent years did much to pave the way for the University's present work in adult education. Since 1917 the priests of the diocese of Antigonish and certain eminent laymen have convened annually to discuss matters



relative to the general welfare of the community. By 1928 these efforts culminated in a determination to form an organized Extension Department under the guidance of the University. Two years later the destinies of this department were entrusted to Dr. M. M. Coady and Professor A. B. McDonald.

It is not the purpose of this brief account to trace its developments from the venturesome beginning to the international reputation it enjoys at present. Suffice it to say that its aims and corresponding achievements have followed both theoretical and practical lines. That is to say, the individual community was to study its own economic problems and then to apply, under expert guidance, the most efficient economic remedy. For this end the erudition and enthusiasm of the directors of the movement were imperative: without their help practical grievances might have had long to wait for their correct solution and its application. The individual study-club, however, has proved indispensable, and may be regarded as the fundamental unit of the movement. The sum total of the ideas thus evolved under this competent direction has resulted in something like a true local or even national culture—not the violent and vicious injection of inassimilable and alien ideas. One may call it only a limited culture, since as yet the movement has followed only social and economic lines, but the literary and artistic expression of this culture is, of course, sure to come in time and will succeed in reflecting and fostering the national existence.

A few statistics may serve to show the remarkable growth of the movement. After the first year's work of the Extension Department, 173 study-clubs held a total of 1,394 meetings. Five years later there were 860 study-clubs holding a total of 8,000 meetings. At the present time there are over 1,100 study-clubs in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The movement is spreading to Newfoundland and already steps are under way to expand the operation to the Province of Ontario. The deliberations and decisions of the study-club groups under the guiding force of Dr. Coady and his associates in this interesting work have achieved many practical results. The practical side of the movement means co-operation, and the following brief survey of co-operative ownership in Eastern Nova Scotia reveals as a minimum:

- (1) Partners in Credit-unions—12,000 persons.
- (2) Partners in Consumers' Societies, including the British-Canadian Co-Operative—5,480. (This does not include four new stores opened in 1937.)
- (3) Partners in Fish Co-Operatives—535.

These 18,000 partnerships in folk-economic institutions are worth more than \$626,000. It may be said that this is small; but that is only natural as those in question have as yet only slender means.

Its growth *must* be small, as co-operation admits no boom psychology. In the words of the official organ of the movement: "It undertakes improved economic conduct from the bottom. Haste

would destroy it. Growth in great things is slow and steady if it is to endure." During the year 1936 one hundred and fifty male and one hundred and fifty female study-clubs were organized in the centre of the Cape Breton coal-fields alone, at Glace Bay, Cape Breton. There were also nineteen associated study-clubs formed throughout the same district. Other endeavours during the past year include the opening of two new co-operative lobster factories, one at Main-a-Dieu, C.B., and the other at Little Bras D'Or, C.B. A co-operative saw-mill was also established at Johnstown, C.B. One of the major organizations formed during the past year was the Cape Breton Dairymen's Association. This organization, formed of farmers throughout the district, will purchase milk of Cape Breton farmers and after pasteurizing it at their new plant erected in Sydney, C.B., will distribute it throughout the community. Central libraries have been opened at Glace Bay and New Waterford. Branches have also been established at Dominion, Florence, New Aberdeen, and Little Bras D'Or, all in Cape Breton Island. In the mining districts of Cape Breton, the New Waterford Credit-union has a membership of one thousand and a similar membership is registered at the various other Credit-unions operating throughout the Cape Breton coal-fields.

The small fishing village of Alder Point, C.B., is a typical example of the new "Co-operative Democracy" now rising up in Eastern Nova Scotia. Here, one hundred Cape Breton fishermen have secured their economic salvation by co-operative measures and now have restored faith and hope in the future.

Five years ago this small fishing village of Alder Point was in the grip of deep depression. The inhabitants, or a large percentage of them, were living on relief, or obtaining a mere existence from the products of the deep which provided their means of livelihood. This community was typical of many to be found along the Cape Breton and Nova Scotia coastline, especially in small fishing villages, where the inhabitants were faced with falling prices, disorganized sales methods and glutted markets. Hope for the future? None. Gradually the inhabitants saw their meagre life-savings disappear; then next their freeholds, till at last they were forced to sell their furniture and personal effects in an attempt to turn away the spectre of unpaid bills.

Now, the scene changes. It is October, 1936. A spirit of hope and optimism prevails among all the inhabitants of Alder Point. On the shore stands a two-story building, erected at an estimated cost of \$5,000. The building contains the latest equipment for canning fish and the estimated value of the equipment is \$1,000. On the other end of the Point stands another large building. It is a fish-meal plant and is fitted with modern devices. Men are busy in both buildings, crates of lobsters are being handled and fifty-five young men and women are employed in sending the products of the canning plant to the four corners of the world.

Thus, through co-operative industry the fishermen of Alder Point have in five years shaken off depression and to-day they own buildings and equipment valued at \$7,000 entirely paid for. In addition, they have taken a big step forward towards working out their own economic salvation and the end is not yet in sight.

How was this miracle accomplished? Simply enough. The fishermen said: "Our lobsters are the best in the world and the people are still eating them. Let us take the matter into our own hands and see if we cannot manage it in our own interest." Accordingly a meeting was held. The fishermen came and listened to various speakers of the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Course on the co-operative movement. The movement spread slowly—very slowly. There were numerous obstacles to overcome. The fishermen studied the co-operative movement and started to put into effect in the community its basic principles. Of course, as in every community, there were the "doubting Thomases" and it required considerable persuasion to turn these men from their old trend of thought. Undeterred, the fishermen held weekly meetings, and at last the erection of a two-story co-operative factory and a canning plant was started. While one group of fishermen studied the market and its difficulties, another directed attention to other phases of the fishing industry. Contracts were made in Boston, whither the bulk of the Cape Breton lobsters are shipped. Prices increased slightly. Things began to improve and, during the 1935 season, 500 crates of lobsters were sent to Boston, while one thousand cases of Alder Point Co-operative Packers lobsters were dispatched to Europe and the English markets where they commanded good prices. The 1936 season secured new markets. The co-operative factory is now a bee-hive of activity, as over sixty young men and women, the sons and daughters of the fishermen interested in the project, are employed in dealing with the work of the plant, supplied directly by the fishermen themselves, who are now assured of fair treatment and consideration.

Such is one example of the new "Co-operative Democracy" rising up to-day in Eastern Nova Scotia, a movement which has helped hundreds of fishermen and farmers lift themselves from economic "hopelessness and helplessness" to comparative prosperity, and which is capable of unlimited extension once its principles are understood.

F. L. KYTE.

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#### WHY THE AMERICAN COLONIES SECEDED.

ONE of the paradoxes of history appears in the fact that the Puritans, fleeing from Stuart persecution, themselves introduced the spirit of religious intolerance into North America—a spirit not yet dead, and one which in its time did much to check the prosperity of the continent and embitter the mutual relations

of its inhabitants. But it is not generally known that religious bigotry was largely instrumental in bringing about the revolt of the American colonies from the British Crown—a fitting nemesis for the intolerance shown by that government towards its Catholic subjects at home. This is made clear in a recent important study by the Rev. Chas. H. Metzger, S.J.,<sup>1</sup> the first conclusion of which is “that religious prejudice did operate as a contributing cause of the War for Independence can scarcely be denied”—a conclusion reached from noting the reaction of the English-speaking colonies of North America to the passing of the Quebec Act, of June, 1774, granting toleration to Catholics in Canada. It is further shown that resentment of this toleration and a strange fear of papal aggression under the guise of Tory absolutism gave a unity of purpose to the revolting colonists, whose objectives were otherwise divergent and sometimes even contradictory. The monograph is admirable in its historical method: an abundance of evidence is adduced, and it is meticulously substantiated; nowhere is the reader asked to accept conclusions on the authority of the writer. In fact, by his reluctance to draw conclusions Father Metzger gives his readers a sound lesson in the interpretation of history. For his work shows that the expressions of indignation and alarm at the Catholic progress in America were undoubtedly louder, more numerous and more universal, than those due to other grievances; and that, whereas our romancers portray hard-headed colonists and austere philosophers preparing to fight for liberty, the contemporary colonial newspapers reveal plucky little Roundheads nerving themselves to face an unequal combat with an invincible papal armada, captained by George the Third! A less conscientious historian might have gathered from these sources that the War for Independence was essentially a crusade against popery, but Father Metzger is content to put religious prejudice among the primary causes of the war. For, while the leaders themselves were certainly infected with “Papophobia”—though Washington seems to have been immune—the fact that the anti-papal ranting subsided with the formation of the alliance with Catholic France seems to show that more earthly considerations ultimately prevailed over the religious motive. However, it may well be argued that the Revolution would not have come *when* it did, had this strange fear of the Catholic tendencies of George the Third been wanting.

Father Metzger is modest and, we think, underestimates the value of his work: “Those who are not conversant with colonial history may be amazed at this discovery; not so the student of the period.” But even for the student of the Revolution Father Metzger’s work will be of the greatest value. Hitherto, the part played by religious bigotry has been largely a matter of conjec-

<sup>1</sup> “The Quebec Act, A Primary Cause of the American Revolution.” New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society. (Monograph Series, XVI.) Pp. x, 223. 1936.

ture; Father Metzger has removed it from the realm of conjecture to that of established historical fact. Further, a knowledge of the evidence he has collected is, on the one hand, necessary for a sound judgment on the causes of the War for Independence—nor can that evidence be found elsewhere outside its sources—and on the other, Father Metzger's search for evidence has been so thorough as to make his conclusions virtually final; some light may yet be thrown on the attitude of this or that leader, but Father Metzger's verdict on the collective mentality of the colonists will never be reversed. Such praise may seem extravagant, but careful perusal shows that every possible source of the revelation of human motives has been examined, and in such detail as practically to exclude the possibility of misinterpretation. The news and correspondence columns of the newspapers, books, speeches, private letters of influential men, sermons, lectures, and popular songs, are all examined. Father Metzger, moreover, in assessing the ratio between the stress laid upon the religious grievance and that on other causes of complaint, does not write as an advocate; he shows due regard for the fact that fanaticism is by nature louder and more persistent even than well-founded discontent.<sup>1</sup>

By solving one problem Father Metzger has raised, or rather, stressed another. From his work it is evident that, whatever may have been the reasons for the War, it was presented to the people as a crusade against Popery. Why, then, did the Catholic colonists join the revolt—if not unanimously, at least, as a body? No facile solution—as, for instance, that the Irish element was predominant—will suffice. For the Catholics of Maryland were largely of English, and those of Pennsylvania largely of German origin. Yet, according to Mr. Maynard, "The name of no prominent Catholic is to be found among the 40,000 expelled Loyalists" (*Catholic Fireside*, Sydney, 1936). Prior to the publication of Father Metzger's monograph, one might have sought a solution in the conjecture that the Catholics joined the Revolution to secure redress for the grievances they shared with the other colonists, but it is hardly possible to entertain such a solution now; for, while the greatest Catholic grievance must have been the fact that anti-Catholic laws existed in all States—except Pennsylvania—it is now evident that, if not the greatest, at least the most loudly noised, grievance of the other colonists was the supposed determination of the Home Government to extend the toleration of Catholicism, already granted in Canada by the Quebec Act, to the rest of the American Colonies. It is true that other solutions, which are less directly affected by Father Metzger's work, suggest themselves. For instance, it is possible that diverse motives amongst the

<sup>1</sup> However, there is one omission that will not readily be forgiven; the book has no index. The very fullness of the treatment makes this the more regrettable; for no student can either absorb the contents in one reading or ignore any part of them as unimportant.

Catholics converged, finding a common reason for support of the Revolution. For instance, one might conjecture that the various racial groups were severally influenced as follows:

Irish Catholics—by hostility to England.

English Catholics—by the Jacobite tradition.

German Catholics—secular grievances, combined with the fact that there were no anti-Catholic laws in Pennsylvania, though even there the franchise was not fully granted.

Of course, the problem arises only in those districts where Catholics were numerous; for, taken as a whole, the Catholic body was widely scattered and probably formed only about 1 per cent of the population of the disaffected Colonies. Fear of alienating Protestant neighbours or desire to win their favour may explain something. And finally, there is the dubious solution put forward by Mr. Maynard: "the perception on the part of the Catholics that the political principles of the Declaration of Independence were in accordance with Catholic philosophy." However, such solutions must remain conjectural until someone of Father Metzger's calibre and diligence undertakes a thorough examination of this development of the question. No doubt some member of the United States Catholic Historical Society, which is sponsoring this series of monographs, may undertake this further investigation. Why not Father Metzger himself?

G. P. LAWLOR.

#### PAUL CLAUDEL.

IN this country Paul Claudel is still little more than a name. A few of the older generation will remember him as French Ambassador successively in the three continents; a few of the younger know his works and recognize his genius; but by the majority of the reading public he is either unknown or ignored. It might be said that as a French writer he has little significance for English-speaking lands. Naturally, his influence has been felt most directly in France itself. From his conversion in 1886 he has occupied a place in French literature, and has affected it as fundamentally as the greatest of his predecessors. When he started writing at the end of the last century, the age had earned for itself the title of "le siècle sans église"; to-day one has only to recall the name of some of the foremost writers in France, as Maritain, Bernanos, Daniel-Rops, to understand what a part religion is again playing in its literature, a part due in large measure to the influence of Claudel. But it would be a complete misunderstanding of the man to imagine that he was nothing more than a French writer of genius. His inspiration came, not from a country but a religion; and his work is not confined within national boundaries,

but has the same universal appeal and significance as the Catholicism which inspired it.

Indeed, Claudel's influence has been so great precisely because his inspiration was profoundly religious; for great poetry is impossible without the revelation that religion brings. There must be a conviction in the poet that human life has a meaning beyond that of the mere outward succession of events. A certain region of mystery encircling the common ground of experience, an appreciation of the fact that this world is neither self-sufficient nor self-explanatory, is almost as essential a part of great poetry as it is of religion itself. Chateaubriand gave back to the secularist eighteenth century, engrossed in business, the knowledge laughed at by Voltaire; the knowledge of the interior life and that something which lies beyond social and political questions, a something which will not, and cannot be ignored with impunity—even by a poet. Claudel retaught the same lesson to a generation which needed it more than that of Chateaubriand.

But before he was capable of teaching others, Claudel had need of being taught himself. That teaching was sudden and complete. He describes his return to Catholicism, and the light given him in Notre Dame in the following words: "In a moment my heart was touched and I believed—God exists and is there. He is someone, He is a personal being like myself. I was standing beside the second pillar from the entrance to the choir—a new and formidable Being, with terrible exigencies for the youth and artist I was, was revealed."<sup>1</sup> The conviction that came with his conversion was not allowed to remain a mere personal feeling, however strong, but was strengthened and deepened by the study of philosophy, and more especially of St. Thomas, whose works became for him a constant source of intellectual pleasure.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when he started to write, he wrote as an artist who was also a philosopher. He could approach the world and understand it. He was not caught by the mere external beauty of life which

"Like a dome of many coloured glass  
Stains the white radiance of eternity"

but delved further to that beauty which is discernible only to the spirit,

"L'eau  
Apprend l'eau, l'esprit adore l'essence."<sup>3</sup>

The realization of this inner beauty and harmony (which ultimately is only the reflection of Increate Beauty) implies a knowledge, however confused and contorted, of God, and as such, has been reflected in the works of all great poets. It is reflected in the

<sup>1</sup> "Revue de la Jeunesse," 1913.

<sup>2</sup> "La Correspondance entre Paul Claudel et Jacques Rivière": "Le Roseau d'Or," 1926.

<sup>3</sup> "Cinq Grandes Odes": "L'esprit et l'eau."



hate of Vigny, or the denial of Swinburne, in the Jewish mockery of Heine, nay, in the blasphemies of Leopardi or Shelley; whilst even of those who know the truth, none have been able to appreciate the full reality. A Francis Thompson expresses the Glory of God, a St. John of the Cross, His Love; Dante perhaps approached intellectually nearest the truth, for his vision was manifold and all combined in a harmonious and intelligible unity.

It is this same faculty not alone for seeing whatever is reality, but for seeing it as a unified whole, which is the distinguishing characteristic of Claudel. The world as created has many seeming antinomies and puzzles which can be solved by returning to the original Plan and Idea alone; creation can be unified and made intelligible only by a knowledge of the Creator. Even in his youth this need for an intelligible universe haunted Claudel: his "Vers d'exil" outlined the solution which he was later to complete:

"Poète, j'ai trouvé le mètre. Je mesure l'univers avec son image que je constitue."

This catholicity which appears so evidently in all his work is one sign that Claudel is a great artist. He sees life steadily and sees it whole and he paints what he sees—light and shadow, joy and sorrow, pain and ease, heaven and hell. He always preserves the balance and so in his hands life's complexity is not lost nor its reality destroyed. He shows the same artistic appreciation of every facet of life as the Venetians showed in their treatment of colour, giving predominance to none, and thus expressing more fully the whole reality.

It is from this realization that Claudel formulates his theory of art.

When I write [he says in a letter to Tonquedec], the idea of the intrinsic beauty of what I do, or of the pleasure it can give is far from being my purpose. Poetry is for me primarily the expression of strong and profound sentiments, and in the second place, a way of developing my intelligence and the potentialities of my soul, an end I have had in view from the day of my conversion. . . . The object of poetry is not, as is often asserted, dreams, illusions, and ideas. It is the holy reality in the midst of which we are placed. It is the universe of visible things to which Faith adds those that are invisible. All that which confronts us and at which we gaze—all this is the work of God, who forms the inexhaustible material of histories, and of the songs of the greatest poets as well as of the poorest little bird. And thus, as there is a "philosophia perennis," which unlike the systems of Leibnitz and Spinoza, does not invent abstract beings which none had ever seen before their creators, so, in like manner there is a perennial

poetry which does not invent its themes, but which ever turns to those which creation gives. One of the essential characteristics of great poetry is its "catholicity."<sup>1</sup>

"Le Soulier de Satin,"<sup>2</sup> which is a very typical work, is a magnificent application of this theory. The work has often appeared chaotic to those who read it for the first time, and without an understanding of Claudel's mind. Certainly there is no apparent unity; the scenes of action stretch across three continents, and succeed one another with bewildering rapidity. The characters embrace every possible type, and often seem to bear little relation to the main theme. Yet it is saved from being chaotic as life itself is saved, by reference to that common end to which all are tending, though by diverse paths, and to the attainment of which, in the Providence of God, everything co-operates. "The Satin Slipper" is an expression of the diversity of life, but it is more than this. It goes beyond the apparent diversity, and shows beneath it the underlying order which alone makes life intelligible.

It might be thought that Claudel's preoccupation with intellectual values would deaden his imaginative powers. Rather the opposite was the case. The fact that for Claudel creation was primarily nothing but a deficient manifestation and reflection of Increate Beauty, did not obscure, but heightened and vivified his appreciation of all natural beauty. His gift of sheer imagination is a full refutation of those who consider the vocations of poet and philosopher irreconcilable. He has the same genius as Verlaine in conveying at times by his words the very odour and colour of flowers. But he does not prostrate himself before nature as Shelley or the Comtesse de Noailles, nor does he distort it as Baudelaire with a feverish and sickly spirit. Rather he is the singer of nature pure and undefiled, of the starry sky and majestic sea—the nature which spoke so clearly to St. Augustine, the philosopher.

"Moi aussi,

J'ai une voix, et j'écoute, et j'entends le bruit qu'elle fait,

Et je fais l'eau avec ma voix, telle l'eau qui est l'eau pure, et

Parce qu'elle nourrit toutes choses, toutes choses se peignent en elle. . ."<sup>3</sup>

Much has been written of Claudel's obscurity, arising both from his choice of subjects and from the way he treats them. As to the first, we should not blame inevitable obscurities, due to matters too deep for human comprehension or involving the rarefied atmosphere of metaphysics. Thus, "Tête d'Or," and

<sup>1</sup> "Dante": "La Nouvelle Revue Française," 1920.

<sup>2</sup> We are glad to see that Messrs. Sheed & Ward, who published it originally in English in 1931, have lately reissued it in a cheaper (5s.) edition.

<sup>3</sup> "Cinq Grandes Odes": "L'esprit et l'eau."

"*L'Orage*," "*Art Poétique*," "*Connaissance du Temps*," and "*Connaissance du Mond et de Soi-même*," are by nature philosophical and ideological, and there will always be many who will grudge the intellectual effort needed to understand them. With regard to the second cause, there is possibly more ground for genuine complaint; but even here, the reason must be sought rather in the wealth of his genius than in obscurity of style. His imagination is so vivid, his use of metaphor so rich and copious that at times it is bewildering rather than illuminating. But the fault is a youthful one, and in his maturer works this wealth of expression has been controlled and subdued as in "*L'Annonce fait à Marie*," "*Cinq Grandes Odes*," and "*Le Soulier de Satin*." Ultimately, however obscure he may be, the obscurity always hides something worth the search. He asks but one thing of his readers, though, unfortunately, it is what many begrudge—reflection.

"O mon âme! le poème n'est point fait de ces lettres que je plante comme des clous mais du blanc qui reste sur le papier."<sup>1</sup>

The place and extent in poetry of this "blanc qui reste sur le papier" is a question that is rife to-day, and one which was broached by the author of the immortal *Don Quixote*, who himself has been so misunderstood as to be considered the world's supreme humorist; "Poetry, Sir, in my judgment, is like a tender virgin in her bloom, beautiful and charming to amazement: . . . all the other sciences are so many virgins, whose care is to enrich, polish, and adorn her, and as she is to make use of them all, so are they all to have for her a grateful acknowledgment. But this virgin must not be roughly handled, nor dragged about the streets, nor exposed to every market-place and corner of great men's houses. . . . She is not to be attempted by buffoons nor by the ignorant mob whose capacity can never reach to a due sense of the treasures that are locked up in her."

Goethe is at one with Cervantes that great poetry can only be for those apt enough through their abilities and education to appreciate it: to one ignorant of Greek mythology Milton's verse becomes vague; to one lacking a sufficient knowledge of the period, Dante can be unintelligible. Claudel would certainly be obscure to any reader who is unable to appreciate Catholicism, and its force and significance in life. But it is not the fault of the poetry but of the reader.

Claudel's Faith is his inspiration. Welling up within him, it reveals for him the world; he needs not to create a Wonderland from whence the return is so sad, for reality itself becomes a wonderland when seen in the light of Faith.

G. BRANGAN.

<sup>1</sup> "*Les Muses*."

## II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

AMERICA: June 12, 1937. **Austria Attempts to form a Catholic State**, by E. K. Winter. [Dr. Winter stresses the importance of showing the Austrian worker that Corporativism is not anti-democratic.]

BLACKFRIARS: June, 1937. **"Blimpery in Excelsis,"** by John Eppstein. [A vehement denunciation of a die-hard attack on the League of Nations, showing that its Catholic assailant knows not of what spirit he is.]

CATHOLIC HERALD: June 18, 1937. **Franco and Compromise.** [An Editorial explaining why Peace in Spain cannot be secured by "mutual concessions."]

CLERGY REVIEW: June, 1937. **First Impressions**, by "Vicarius." [A candid and penetrating analysis of prevalent defects in public Catholic worship, education and perseverance in good.]

COMMONWEAL: June 11, 1937. **Fighting for Social Justice**, by John A. O'Brien. [Roosevelt's ideal, being one with that of the Popes, deserves Catholic support.]

DOSSIERS DE L'ACTION POPULAIRE: June 10, 1937. **Reflexions sur le néo-paganisme allemand**, by E. Kiesewetter. [A startling disclosure of the thoroughness of the new pagan culture of Germany.]

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD: June, 1937. **The Religious Condition of Portugal**, by R. S. Devane, S.J. [A retrospect showing what handicaps, due to the influence of atheist France, the Faith has surmounted in that land.]

MODERN SCHOOLMAN: May, 1937. **Usury**, by Lewis Watt, S.J. [An exposition and defence of the traditional Church doctrine: often misunderstood even by Catholics.]

SIGN: June, 1937. **Pope Pius XI**, by Rev. P. J. Healy. [A birthday survey of the life and works of the octogenarian Pontiff.]

STUDIES: June, 1937. **Alfred Noyes on Voltaire**, by Mary Ryan. [A drastic refutation of a well-meant attempt to rehabilitate the character of a bitter and consistent foe of Christianity.]

TABLET: June 12, 1937. **The Society of Jesus in Spain**, by E. Allison Peers. [One of a valuable series of articles intended to show that, not merely the Communists in power now, but the "liberal" republic of 1931, in banishing the Orders was uprooting the very sources of Spanish civilization.]

[On this page last month an article from *Blackfriars* on Mauriac's "Vie de Jésus" was quoted, the compiler's comment on which might be understood as implying that Father Kehoe, O.P., the author of the article, also considered the volume as "in sum a harmful book." Father Kehoe wishes us to make clear that he does not share this opinion.]

# REVIEWS

## 1—FROM THE ITALIAN<sup>1</sup>

WE are delighted to welcome some further publications of the University of the Sacred Heart in Milan which is now exercising a far-reaching influence upon the whole of Italian thought. But as the works in question are largely of a specialist nature and are written in their own most beautiful of Southern tongues, we can do little more than refer briefly to their contents.

The first, of interest to the archæologist, contains reproductions of 372 cuneiform tablets from the third dynasty of Ur. The number of such tablets preserved in Italian museums is relatively small. Three hundred of these are taken from the R. Museo di Antichità Egiziane in Turin, while seventy-two are the property of the University of the Sacred Heart. All are derived originally from the archives of two small cities of Sumeria, Drehem and Djoha. The first of these was on the Euphrates; the second, to the South on the Tigris. Drehem was a commercial centre of some importance; Djoha more concerned with religious administration. Both depended upon the central government though they enjoyed a measure of local autonomy. The inscriptions are arranged according to the aspect of public or private life which they reveal and illustrate.

According to Signor Violardo, Saint Jerome has never been sufficiently studied from the juristic point of view. Until this want is supplied, we cannot estimate to the full the influence of the Christian Fathers upon the development of Roman Law. Accordingly he attempts to elucidate from the voluminous writings of that great Doctor his doctrine on the Natural Law, the position and rights of the individual and family, in short on all those ethical and social questions which would have exercised their force upon the jurists. The work would seem to be a thesis for a University Doctorate and the author admits that much research has still to be done. But he has selected for study one of the outstanding figures of the Church, just in the period of its greatest influence upon pagan thought and law.

<sup>1</sup> (1) *Tavolette Cuneiformi Sumere, degli Archivi di Drehem e di Djoha, dell'ultima dinastia di Ur.* Edited by Giustino Boson. Pp. 190. Price, 20.00 l. (2) *Il Pensiero Giuridico di San Girolamo.* By Giacomo Violardo. Pp. vi, 244. Price, 16.00 l. (3) *Thomas Hardy Poeta.* By Alberto Castelli. Pp. 72. Price, 8.00 l. (4) *La Basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua.* By Eva Tea. Pp. xiv, 416. Price, 30.00 l. (5) *Nuovi Studi Ammianeî.* By Giovanni Battista Pighi. Pp. xvi, 236. Price, 20.00 l. (6) *I Discorsi nelle Storie d'Ammiano Marcellino.* By Giovanni Battista Pighi. Pp. viii, 104. Price, 8.00 l. All published by the Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," Milan. 1936 and 1937.

A slight and yet interesting study of the poet Thomas Hardy is contributed by Signor Castelli. For him Hardy is of the number of those who in the phrase of Dante "andavano e non sap'en dove." His intention is to describe the spiritual forces which more or less consciously form the basis of the poet's thought. He sees quite clearly the prevailing pessimistic mood and the recognition of a kind of Universal Will, the Will of the Universe in both prose and verse. The Supreme Being is identified with the All. The prevailing sadness is emphasized, the love of those poets who sang of sorrow and of autumn with its presage of death. There is no future life. In His Immortality the poet sees the best part of a dead man shine in the hearts of those who shall have remained faithful to his memory. This thought dies slowly—

"A feeble spark,  
Dying amid the dark."

When this is finally quenched, there occurs a second death;

The "memory of us numbs,  
And blank oblivion comes."

Signor Castelli treats of Hardy's attitude towards the Anglican Church, noting his desire for what he termed a "more rational" liturgy, and shows that, though for the poet the whole life and mission of Christ was incomprehensible, he does write of miracles and the sacraments with some reverence, as in the poems of "The Lost Pyx" and "The Oxen."

Doctor Eva Tea's volume on the Basilica of Santa Maria Antiqua is almost monumental. This recently rediscovered church had been dealt with to some extent in the monographs of Wilpert, Rushforth and Grüneisen. It is one of the most interesting of early Christian temples, which was lost sight of altogether in the twelfth century; even in the nineteenth its exact location was in dispute. It was first excavated under the supervision of Giacomo Boni in 1900 and 1901 and Doctor Tea was associated with Signor Boni from the beginning. The Basilica is of the greatest importance for early art and iconography; the decoration is described here with great detail and the book contains many reproductions of the painting and inscriptions.

Finally two volumes must be briefly mentioned, composed by Doctor Giovanni Pighi on the somewhat forgotten annalist of the late Imperial campaigns, Ammianus Marcellinus. Dr. Pighi deals with and interprets a number of passages from the *Annals*. The extracts in question are those concerning the first Alemannic campaign of Constantius, the Cæsarian Declaration of Julian, the Battle of Strasbourg and the Eastern Situation in 358 A.D. The second volume examines the various speeches which, after the manner of ancient historians generally, are incorporated in the main text.

The list of publications of this University, literary, scientific and philosophical, has now grown into a formidable one. Our good wishes go to those who are responsible for their production. May they long continue to work in the cause of Catholic scholarship.

J.M.

## 2—MENS SANA<sup>1</sup>

THE educational ideal of the *mens sana in corpore sano* is, of course, no novel conception but one may fairly claim for modern psychology that it has modified profoundly our idea of what constitutes mental sanity. There is now no hesitation in recognizing that certain mental states characterized by extreme emotional instability are truly to be regarded as mental diseases, with their roots in defective heredity or faulty environment or both. What is not so readily realized is that much of this mental suffering can be averted by sound education, and some of it cured by re-education. In his admirable book, Dr. McCarthy writes sanely, lucidly and helpfully on a problem rendered painfully acute by the prevalence of nervous diseases in modern life. "It might be said," he asserts, "that a person is mentally healthy when he shows himself capable of self-management within and of self-adjustment to his environment without" (p. 56). Now, this working definition, at once scientifically accurate and practically useful, sums up the teaching of the book. Inner and outer maladjustments (especially of the emotions) constitute in their various degrees of seriousness mental ill-health. The nature and causes of these maladjustments, the comparative influence and importance of heredity and environment, the part played by home and school influences, the genesis and symptoms of some of the commoner neurotic states, the wholesome effect of sound religious belief—these and allied topics are treated by Dr. McCarthy in a manner that is non-technical and at the same time sure and authoritative. Therein lies his special contribution to the subject.

But the new methods must be applied with intelligence and caution. Says the author: "A knowledge of psychology may be helpful, although a smattering of it is often dangerous; such fragmentary information may give rise to self-conceit or generate needless anxieties" (p. 280). In the judicious amount of information that he has thought fit to impart to the reader, he has avoided this common pit-fall with conspicuous skill: instruction in mental, as in physical, hygiene can be made practical and effective without a dangerous "popular" laicizing of the sciences on which it

<sup>1</sup> *Safeguarding Mental Health*. (Science and Culture Series.) By R. C. McCarthy, S.J., Ph.D. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company; London: Coldwell. Pp. xii, 297. Price, 11s.



is based. At the same time, to win confidence, such instruction must be supported by explanation and the author has been well-advised to put quietly at the disposal of the reader such conclusions as the cautious psychiatrist can endorse as trustworthy.

Equally important is the sanity and balance with which such information is presented by Dr. McCarthy: healthily opposed to the extreme fatalism that in many quarters lays most of the blame for mental diseases at the door of heredity, he is equally averse to that over-stressing of environment that is characteristic of Behaviourist psychology. This is all to the good, for a philosophic mental balance in themselves is the first requisite in the equipment of those who would cure the lack of mental balance that is pathological.

The importance of the subject, together with the outstanding merits of the treatment, combine to make a book like *Safeguarding Mental Health* doubly welcome. The treatment of the subject is so refreshingly free from that quackery and pseudo-science that often passes for psychology. It may be unreservedly commended to the individual reader for his own sake, and equally to all those whose duties embrace the spiritual charge of youth: confessors, parents, teachers, Masters and Mistresses of Novices. Externally the book is well and solidly produced and the text is pleasantly broken by helpful subject-headings.

C.D.

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## SHORT NOTICES

### THEOLOGICAL.

**Y**EARS of missionary experience in Mangalore have left Father Aloysius Ambruzzi, S.J., with the conviction that the average manual of Christian Doctrine, however doctrinally sound and complete, does not sufficiently attract the college and university student. Accordingly, as a sort of supplement he has collected in **The Newman Book of Religion** (Coldwell: 3s. 6d. n.) a number of passages from the great Cardinal's works which illustrate the principal theses of Apologetics and the main dogmas of the Faith. The greater beauty of the setting, he considers, will enhance the appeal of the truth therein contained. The book is divided into two sections, the first apologetical, the second doctrinal. Each chapter is preceded by a short analysis of the doctrine which is then illustrated by some two to five extracts of varying length. It is a handy volume which should admirably effect its purpose.

### BIBLICAL.

**Watch and Pray** (B.O. & W.: 5s. n.) continues the pleasant studies of Old Testament personalities which Dom Hubert Van Zeller began in his previous volumes *Prophets and Princes* and

*Sackcloth and Ashes.* In his latest work he considers the last six Minor Prophets from Nahum to Malachy. In a non-technical and sympathetic manner he aims at re-creating the general atmosphere in which those figures moved and, while explaining their utterances, would also sketch the character of the men who uttered them. A readable book which provides an easy introduction to some of the least known of the Old Testament works.

#### APOLOGETIC.

**L'Incroyant devant la Foi** is a further addition to an excellent series, published by Flammarion at 1.95 fr., of which the first three numbers have been already noted. From the pen of the distinguished Dominican, Père Sertillanges, it is an admirable little volume of practical apologetics and with reasoned eloquence deals with many of the difficulties raised by science and philosophy against the Christian Faith.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL.

A book which will be of great interest and profit to teachers in Secondary Schools is **The Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Girl**, by Sister M. Mildred Knoebber, O.S.B., Ph.D. (The Bruce Publishing Co., G. E. J. Coldwell: 8s. 6d.). Whether it would be altogether of benefit to the girls individually, as is suggested in the preface, especially to girls in this country, may perhaps be doubted. Among other possible dangers, the private study of it might intensify unduly that tendency to introspection, to which adolescents are already prone. The book represents an enormous amount of painstaking labour. After some introductory chapters concerning the proper understanding of adolescent girls, their types and their problems, we have an extensive commentary on a series of very thorough and comprehensive *questionnaires* submitted to and answered by a great number of girls varying in age mainly between 12 and 17 in American High Schools. Thus, "types of adolescent girls," "the girl in the home," "the girl in the school," "the girl in her social life," and "the girl in the world of self," are dealt with in separate chapters. The final results are reviewed in a special chapter, with an account of the method by which the investigation was carried out. In Secondary Schools, especially in this country, there is, as a rule, more scope for individual treatment of pupils than is possible in Elementary Schools, and we can recommend this book both to the headmistresses of such schools and to the teachers in them.

#### DEVOTIONAL.

Seven methods of making the Stations are contained in **The Royal Road of the Cross** (Kenedy: \$1.00), inspired severally by some quality of our Blessed Lady or some aspect of the divine Nature. They have been compiled by the Abbé Jean Robin and translated by M. R. Glover. Several striking illustrations are

contributed by C. Busseron Chambers. The short prayers and meditations are rich in spiritual guidance and the book is beautifully produced by the publishers.

The same commendation is due to **The Cross and the Beatitudes** (Kenedy: \$1.00), by Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen, whose power of bringing forth old treasures in a new and attractive guise has been exhibited in so many treatises. The present little volume is inspired by the pregnant thought that what Our Lord taught on the Mount of the Beatitudes He practised on the Mount of Calvary. The parallels are neatly drawn and applied to modern conditions: the world is still crucifying its Saviour and He is still replying by all-conquering Love. The Christian will take renewed courage, and the worldling perchance be moved to repent, by this vivid exposition of these facts.

#### HISTORICAL.

More recent happenings in Germany, the measured and serious protest of the Holy Father in the Easter Encyclical on the one side and on the other the highly dubious "morality" trials hurriedly staged as a counter-measure, have given to Dr. Gurian's **Hitler and the Christians** (Sheed & Ward: 5s. n.) an actuality almost greater than it had when it first appeared. (The German original was published late in 1935, its English version more than a year afterwards.) Introductory chapters deal with the position of the Catholic Church and the Protestant bodies under the Hohenzollern regime and the post-War Republic, and lead up to the main theme of the book, which is an analysis of the religious policy of the Third Reich. Before the War both Catholics and Protestants had regarded themselves as embodying the true German spirit; the first deriving naturally from the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire from which the "reforming" princes had broken away; the second identifying that spirit with the Protestant Prussian State. But the Germans were already coming to be united or separated, not so much by their interpretation of Christianity as by their relation to the Prussian State. The Republic was administered by the three parties, which had opposed it: the Liberals, the Centre and the Socialists. It was natural then that Protestant sympathies should be on the side of the national opposition and the growing Nazi party. No wonder that in the first flush of national success under Hitler, there should arise a strong movement of German Protestants who, consciously or not, were intended to prepare for a Third or National Church. The stormy history of this movement, the withdrawal from it of more responsible Christians and the emergence of a widespread Confessional opposition among both ministers and laity, are sketched with considerable detail. The attempt to unite the different Protestant Churches under a system of State control would appear to have enjoyed no great success, in spite of the weak and undecided leadership of the State Bishops.

The attitude adopted towards the Catholic Church had to be different. It was first one of conciliation; consequently, the previous episcopal condemnations passed upon the Nazi programme were in part withdrawn. This was followed by the gradual effort to drive the Church more and more from the sphere of public life by interference with her youth-organizations, by the suppression of her Press and now by the campaign in favour of the undenominational school. Wedges have been driven between bishops and people and when they were blunted, between the people and the junior clergy; and "currency" and "morality" trials have been exploited to lessen the repute and influence of the Church. Dr. Gurian believes that the State has won several successes in its assaults upon the Church's position in public life and is inclined, perhaps too readily, to criticize the defensive attitude of the bishops. He would have welcomed a policy of more outspoken hostility and condemnation. The various neo-pagan groups he regards as unimportant. They have been "employed merely as reconnoitring patrols when the occasion offered, and have been rewarded for their services with nothing but contempt." Yet the recent Hitler-Ludendorff reconciliation marks a greater approval than Dr. Gurian counts on. His book is of great interest and actuality. It is a little concentrated and compact and thus needs careful reading; but after all that is what it deserves.

Those who are interested, as so many are, in the Jewish religious outlook, are once more deeply indebted to Père Joseph Bonsirven for a further valuable contribution to that subject—*Les Juifs et Jésus* (Beauchesne: 16.00 fr.). In this volume there may be found a thorough examination of the progressive stages in the Jewish attitude towards Our Lord. A century ago, or less, it was customary either to deny His existence or to denounce Him as an impostor. Klausner's serious but rationalistic "Life of Jesus" (Jerusalem: 1922) has removed all excuse in Jewish minds for doubting that He is an historic person. It is now, at least among Liberal Jews, the fashion to proclaim Our Lord as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the Jewish people. It is indeed delightful to read the splendid tributes paid to Him by well-known writers such as Krochmal, Reinach, Castelli, Jastrow, Friedlander and, of course, Claude Montefiore. A lovely little litany might be compiled from such sources. But this does not mean that they admit His claim to divinity. To them it still seems a choice between Israel and Jesus; and Israel is preferred. It is a sad dilemma. Edmund Fleg's "L'Enfant Prophète" and "Le Juif Errant" show in poignant scenes the soul-struggle of Israelites torn asunder between the rival and, as they deem them, irreconcilable claims on their allegiance. This admirable treatise on the subject will inspire all who read it with deep sympathy and with a strong desire to help on in any way possible, direct or indirect, this slow but steady approach of the Synagogue towards the Saviour.

## BIOGRAPHICAL.

A sentence in the Foreword to Abbé M. Nédoncelle's **Baron Friedrich von Hügel: a Study of his Life and Thought** (Longmans: 8s. 6d. n.), a book which we reviewed at greater length in its original French, somewhat belies the aim and atmosphere of his work. He says that, being a Catholic priest, his attitude towards [the Baron's] theological views "cannot always be entirely uncritical." We are glad to think that, in effect, precisely because he is a Catholic priest, the Abbé's attitude had always been entirely critical and that therein lies the value of his study. Only the theologian, well versed in the Church's traditional doctrine, can properly appraise the excursions into theology of one who was at best, and however learned, an amateur, handicapped at the outset by unfamiliarity with the scholastic philosophy in terms of which Catholic theology is generally expressed. It is perhaps on this account that the Baron's highly polemical career is apt to suggest two Scripture texts: Our Lord's "Unless ye become as little children . . .", and St. Paul's "We subdue every mind to the obedience of Christ"; for it clearly illustrates them, though somewhat *au rebours*, and the merit of Abbé Nédoncelle's work lies in the skill with which he brings out the essentially unshaken Catholicity of an intellect which instinctively shied from the necessity of subjection, out of its very fear of denying the truth. The Baron, one thinks, must often have wondered how even the omnipotence of the Holy Spirit could make the imperfect human instruments which He employed trustworthy vehicles of His revelation, and to this wonderment must be attributed the difficulties which he felt, and sometimes encouraged in others, in making due submission to authority. Fortunately, the Abbé takes his subject's Life as a whole and thus he is able to contrast the orthodoxy of his later years with the rashness of the earlier. The result is a well-balanced appreciation, probably the best that has yet appeared, of the course of an active and subtle intellect ever in search of the limits of an authority in which it yet believed—a very instructive illustration of what the *magisterium* of the Church has to encounter through the ages. Von Hügel as an apologist remains of greater use to those outside the Church and devoid of her guidance than to the Catholic. The latter, ordinarily speaking—so much of the Baron's writing being tentative and exploratory—will need help from an orthodox expositor. M. Nédoncelle provides a useful bibliography, and a list of publications in which the Baron's teaching is discussed more or less fully.

What the author disarmingly calls "an ill-told story of an ill-spent life" proves on perusal to be the record of a very full and interesting career, narrated with humour and distinction. **A Papal Chamberlain: the Personal Chronicle of Francis Augustus MacNutt** (Longmans: 15s. n.) is edited posthumously by the Rev. John J. Donovan, and is introduced by Cardinal Hayes of

New York and by G. K. Chesterton. This double introduction does not overweight the book, which is altogether worthy of its sponsors. One surmises that what most interested Mr. Chesterton in the autobiography was not the brilliance of its later setting, when Popes and Cardinals, Kings and Ambassadors filled the scene, but the picture of the little boy "finding the faith," not only unhelped by any human agency but positively opposed by the inhibitions and atmosphere of an intensely Protestant household. These were enough to prevent his reception into the Church till his twentieth year when on a visit to Rome, but he held the supernatural essentials of the Faith from his early boyhood. English readers will be glad to meet in these pages sympathetic studies of Father Jerome Vaughan and his brother, John, who, with the author, formed the only members of a short-lived "Community of Expiation," and of Cardinal Manning. But although Mr. MacNutt attended the Accademia in Rome for a time, it was not as a priest but as Papal Chamberlain under three Popes and as a Catholic layman, who in every variety of circumstance witnessed to his Faith, that Mr. MacNutt served the Church. The record, conveniently arranged in decades, and closed after the sixth, was originally meant only for the author's friends. After his death at the age of sixty-five it was happily determined to publish it, whether abridged or otherwise "edited," we are not told; however, the public will be grateful for the wealth of interest and edification thus made available.

#### LITERARY.

An essay in literary exegesis—**Macbeth: A New Interpretation of the Text of Shakespeare's Play**, by W. D. Sargeant (Heath Cranton: 7s. 6d.)—is intended for advanced students of Shakespeare, but is unlikely to be of much value to that particular group. What is good in the interpretation is not new, and what is new in it is based on nothing more reliable than the author's opinions. Many alterations of phrases and of text-order are suggested without adequate justification, and new estimates of character advanced at variance with tradition. Such treatment has an interest of its own, but it is based on the fallacy that Shakespeare wrote for the study rather than for the stage. It is a mistake into which too many commentators fall and it only obscures their vision.

The epithet which best describes the essays in reminiscence by "Don Boyne," called **I Remember Maynooth** (Longmans: 5s. n.), is "mellow." They seem to be the reflections of an elderly cultured man on the scenes of his clerical adolescence, seen through the experience of life, judged by the standards of maturity, and salted throughout with a vivid sense of humour. We can imagine the delight with which Maynooth men of that and later generations will have read them—recalling as they do so vividly and pleasantly bygone customs and incidents and personalities—since

the sketches engross even an outsider with their vividness and charm, and the art with which the history and abiding character of a great religious institution are depicted.

The Oxford University Press has reissued in the "Oxford Bookshelf" series **Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins** at the popular price of 5s. They were first published, with Notes, by Bridges in 1918, and a second edition, edited by Mr. Charles Williams appeared, with additional poems and another Preface, in 1930. Since then the poet's influence amongst students of poetry and the literati generally has greatly extended. The present reprint makes the collection accessible to a still wider public, and it will be interesting to see whether its deep and essential poetry will be felt by those unaccustomed to difficulties of metrical form and structure, and unwonted philosophical view-points. It would have added to the interest of the reissue and perhaps to the success of the experiment, if those earlier poems preserved in Mr. House's "Remains" of the poet had been included here.

#### FICTION.

Another collection of Miss Enid Dinnis's charming and characteristic stories, **The Curtain Rises** (B.O. & W.: 3s. 6d.), will come as a surprise to those of her admirers who do not know of her transatlantic activities, for they have all been taken from that very interesting New Jersey periodical *The Sign*. The delicate fancy, the quiet humour, the deep spirituality, and the clever construction which mark her work are all in delightful evidence here.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

We have already commended, in noticing *Foreigners aren't Fools*, Mr. Hollis's enterprise in trying to promote understanding among nations by stating for British readers the various points of view regarding the policy of this country and that of the other influential Powers, entertained severally by different nations. And now he has published a similar book, with the less informative title **We aren't so Dumb** (Longmans: 6s. n.), wherein he represents two Englishmen discussing a variety of questions of the day—Raw Materials, Colonies, the League of Nations, America, Fascism, the Birth-rate, etc.—with the aid of an occasional expert or foreigner, and an effort to take more than a merely national standpoint. All these sublunary concerns have aspects which differ according to the angle of observation, and there is no arriving at the truth except, so to speak, by walking round them. This Mr. Hollis does with an uncanny flair for what is important; thus, the reading of him is calculated to have a very irritating effect both on traditional die-hards, typified by "Colonel Blimp," and also on the readers of the partisan catchpenny Press. All the more, should those who want to be right and just in their political estimates, peruse these little volumes more than once. Catholic public opinion on important topics would be much more united and influential,



and regrettable divisions more easily avoided, if rightly informed, as it can be by this means, about both principles and facts.

#### MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

The Parisian publishing firm of Flammarion has sent us examples of two new series of short booklets, the purpose of which is to review in small compass certain of the more vital national problems. The first (each volume contains 48 pages and costs 1.95 fr.) is edited by M. Melchior-Bonnet, with the collaboration of some very distinguished Frenchmen. The first number, **Comment élever nos fils?**, is a plea by General Weygand for a reconsideration of education in the light of the country's needs and includes the frank recognition that both physical and civic formation are sadly wanting, more particularly if France be compared with her neighbours, Germany and Italy. A series of sketches with the title **Avons-nous encore besoin de Dieu?**, taken largely from the experience of the Parisian priest who writes under the *nom de plume* of "Pierre L'Ermite," fill a second booklet. The sketches are charming and sympathetic in the manner long familiar to readers of *La Croix*. A third number, by the eminent Academician, Henry Bordeaux, is entitled **Le Foyer**, and extols the position of the family throughout French history and development. The true heritage of his country, the author insists, is "l'accord, tout le long de notre histoire, entre la terre et la famille française." A most timely series even for English readers; they are an acute diagnosis of modern situations from the pens of masters of French style. A second series is more obviously political. M. Jacques Bardoux, in **Le Chaos Espagnol: Éviterons-nous la Contagion?**, reveals the methods and extent of communist propaganda in France and Spain and asks the pertinent question: Is France to go whither Spain has already gone? An ex-Premier, M. Flandin, in **Le Front Populaire nous conduit à la catastrophe**, criticizes the social and financial policy of M. Blum. **Le "Front de la Liberté" face au Communisme**, by the ex-Communist, M. Doriot, asserts that the Communist Party in France is the best-organized and the richest of the political groups and is a foreign element which is poisoning and vitiating the national life. Recent developments in Russia have shown, he states, that the Marxist experiment is intellectually bankrupt without the slightest hope of revival and that there is no longer any ideal behind communist interference; the sole purpose of Russian propaganda is now for the advantage of Russian foreign policy. Both series are well produced (the second is priced at 1.75 fr.). Their format is not as neat as that of the pamphlets of the C.T.S., but it is more solid and possibly more impressive.

Anything from the pen of Father Daniel Lord, S.J.—editor of *The Queen's Work*—instantly arrests the eye, for long experience has shown him to be a writer with the gift of putting quite dull facts freshly and attractively. Who else would have thought of

describing the situation in Russia in the form of a most racy and exciting ballade? This he does in **We're Told Religion in Russia is Free** (*Queen's Work Publications*: 10 cents), which gets the truth "across" to people who would shrink from a treatise, however short. Pungent irony seasons the clever and "idiomatic" verses. In another pamphlet (10 cents) **They Found Success**, the same author sketches a rich man's vain dream for "producing men"—the ideal city with the ideal citizens—as an answer to the riddle of Social Order; in the end adroitly turning the question on to the reader, as if asked by Our Lord to contribute help. In **Visits to the Blessed Sacrament** (10 cents) points are given for eighteen visits, with most practical prayers and aspirations.

Among the smaller books and pamphlets which deal with the civil war in Spain a short study of General Franco entitled **Franco means Business** (Sands: 2s. n.) deserves special mention. It presents a straightforward picture of an idealist, a Spaniard and a soldier in refreshing contrast to the distorted caricatures provided by all too large a section of the popular Press. Mr. Gregory Macdonald contributes an appreciative foreword and by way of index are a number of the General's statements and addresses, which are not easily to be obtained elsewhere.

Mr. R. J. Dingle, the translator of the previous volume, contributes a truly excellent pamphlet to the cause with the title **Democracy in Spain** (B.O. & W.: 6d.). He deals effectively with the claim of the Valencia leaders to form the legitimate administration of the country and the testimony he brings from the pens of ardent Republicans like Señor Alcalá-Zamora, Señor Lerroux and Dr. Marañón is particularly telling.

**Red Terror in Madrid** (Longmans: 2s. 6d. n.) is the record of the first six months of the civil war as narrated by an eye-witness. The account is vouched for by very high authorities. For those who are anxious to know the true state of Madrid as distinct from that which has been shown to rather over-sympathetic tourists, this book will provide enlightening, if gruesome, reading.

The list is completed by a short Spanish pamphlet from Saragossa—**Rebeldes? Apelación a la Conciencia Universal sobre el Caso de España**. It provides in simpler form much of the argument worked out by Mr. Dingle.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

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